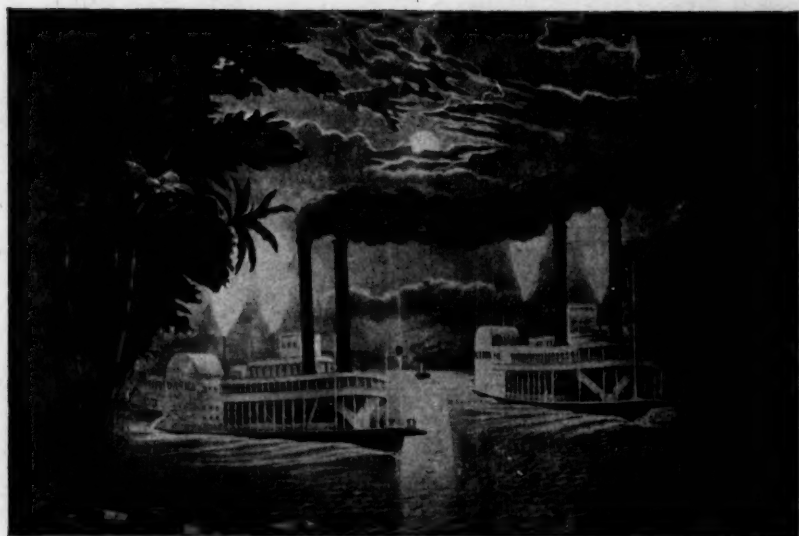


Missouri Historical Review



*Published by
State Historical Society of Missouri*

January 1946

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Missouri Historical Review

Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

Volume XL

Number Two

January 1946



The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. It is sent free to all members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Membership dues in the Society are \$1.00 a year. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors to the magazine.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 422."

Missouri Historical Review

Volume 1, Number 1, 1906

THE
MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW
PUBLISHED BY THE
MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. LOUIS, MO.
1906

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MARK TWAIN'S FLORIDA YEARS

BY GEORGE IVAN BIDEWELL¹

Florida, Missouri, rightfully but feebly claims to be the birthplace of Mark Twain, although it has been completely overshadowed by the more populous and civic-powered town of Hannibal in the neighboring county of Marion. Of the multitude who know the name of Mark Twain, few may correctly name the birthplace of the author. The homes of Tom Sawyer and of Becky Thatcher, his childhood sweetheart, are today points of interest frequently visited at Hannibal, scarcely more than a stone's throw from the Mark Twain hotel, yet not one of a hundred visitors detours from the main highway to visit the actual birthplace of the great humorist. The tiny settlement known as Florida is in Monroe county, which adjoins Marion county on the southwest. It is situated on a high point of land between the forks of Salt river and is accessible over Missouri state highway number 107. The marker at the edge of town gives the population as 210, but as the visitor drives down the main street and takes cognizance of the few houses and the many vacant lots he is inclined to doubt this figure. Florida's one store, located at the intersection of the two principal streets, is of the general merchandise type common in towns of this size, dispensing everything from kerosene and gasoline to groceries and drygoods. Also at this intersection stands the modest Mark Twain monument erected in 1913. The corner lot immediately northeast of the monument was once occupied by the store of Mark Twain's uncle, John A. Quarles. Less than one hundred feet south of the intersection and on the east side of the road is located the site of the John Clemens home in which Sam was born.

The villagers of Florida are hospitable and on the occasions of my visits showed no sign of wishing to capitalize

¹GEORGE IVAN BIDEWELL, a native Missourian, is instructor in English at Missouri Military academy at Mexico. He received a B. S. degree in 1933 from the Southeast Missouri State Teachers college and an A. M. degree in 1945 from the University of Iowa.

on information they happened to have about their famous son. Particularly interesting was an anecdote contributed by James Blue, ninety-one-year old life-long resident of Florida. His parents were well acquainted with their famous fellow townsmen and neighbors, the Clemenses. The actual words that Mr. Blue used in relating the incident are, as nearly as possible, retained here:

My father and mother were friends and neighbors of John and Jane Clemens, and I have heard them speak of the Clemenses many times, and well. Old Judge Clemens was a wagon-maker. He made a wagon for my father before they moved out of here to Hannibal, and a good wagon, too. Yea, I've been around these parts agoin' on ninety-two year; I'm the oldest resident in town. I live alone; my wife died twelve years ago. The Clemenses have got a girl buried up there in the graveyard, own sister to Mark Twain. I don't rightly know whether there is a marker on the grave or not.²

This idea of John Clemens making a wagon for Mr. Blue's father, regardless of the truth of the story, is entirely in keeping with the pinched circumstances of the Clemens family while in Florida. The "own sister of Mark Twain buried up there in the graveyard" is his sister Margaret who died in August 1839. The cemetery is located on the northwest edge of Florida. The grave of Margaret is close by the graves of Twain's uncle, John A. Quarles, and his first wife, Martha Ann Lampton, younger sister of Mark Twain's mother, familiarly known to the children as Aunt Patsy. The residents of this community include the descendants of several families resident there in the days of Mark Twain's childhood.

The claim of Florida to a formative influence in the development of Mark Twain is more soundly grounded than is generally realized. When the Clemens family moved in 1839 from Florida to Hannibal, Sam was four years old. The contacts with Florida were not, however, by any means at an end. The summers from 1840 to 1846 were spent on the farm of his Uncle John Quarles, located four miles north

²James Blue was alive in November, 1942, and according to information gained in Monroe county is a reliable source for data. Report has it that he died during the winter of 1944-1945.

of the town.³ These Florida visits came to an end with the death of Mark Twain's father in April 1847. It is thus a fact that for the period of these seven summers plus the first four years of his life, Sam was definitely subjected to the influences of the Florida association and environment. That this fact should have been generally disregarded does not mean that it has been completely unnoticed by all his biographers. Paine devotes nearly thirty pages in the first part of his biography to the affairs of the Clemens family during the time in question. Brashear has a very excellent chapter in her book, *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*, entitled "The Pre-Hannibal Period," which goes into the historical, social, and cultural background of the section. An account of Quarles as a hero for the young boy, she states, will help "to give an idea of the importance of his Florida years in developing the boy's character and imagination." In this chapter she says this of Florida:

For the attaining of his broader outlook, it may be said that the pioneer village of Florida, Missouri, was fortunately conditioned. It was bordered by the great woods and prairies untouched by the hand of man There Sam Clemens had the freedom of the farm of his Uncle John Quarles, a more generous-natured man than his own father. He was in the midst of southern people who were more public-minded than many frontiersmen and among whom it was possible for his thinking to follow unthwarted, normal and wholesome lines. During the same period, his imagination was developed through association with old-time southern darkies; so that later he used characters he knew and stories which he first heard at this time in his life, as literary material.⁴

Nor did this oversight issue from any statement of the author. Mark Twain makes direct acknowledgement of the Florida influence in the *Autobiography*, and specifically with reference to the farm of John Quarles, "I can see the farm yet, with perfect clearness. I can see all the belongings, all its details. . . ."⁵

Indeed the pages of *Huckleberry Finn* disclose specific points of descriptive parallelism which vividly support Twain's

³Clemens, Samuel, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, pp. 96, 109, 110.

⁴Brashear, Minnie M., *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*, pp. 52, 59-60.

⁵Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 102.

acknowledgement that he had Florida scenes in mind. Mark Twain described two plantation homes in *Huckleberry Finn*; in the description of both of these homes there is evidence that the plantation home of John A. Quarles, Florida, Missouri, was very much in the mind of the author, admittedly so in the case of the Phelps plantation home. The first house described is the one belonging to the Grangerfords, of great importance in the story because it is the home in which Huck sojourned during the famous Grangerford-Shepherdson feud. He appears there immediately after the raft was rammed and supposedly sunk. In the following quotations the first column contains the lines from *Huckleberry Finn* describing the home of the Grangerfords, in the second column are the lines from Paine's *Mark Twain* which describes the Quarles home at Florida.

.... I run across a big old-fashioned double house before I noticed it.⁶

It was a double house and the big open place betwixt them was roofed and floored, and sometimes the table was set there in the middle of the day, and it was a cool, comfortable place. Nothing couldn't be better. And warn't the cooking good, and just bushels of it too!⁷

.... the house was as wonderful as its surroundings. It was a two story double log building, with a spacious floor (roofed in) connecting the two divisions. In summer the table was set in the middle of the shady breezy pavilion, and sumptuous meals were served in lavish southern style, brought to the table in vast dishes that left only room for rows of plates around the edge.⁸

This parallelism is striking. Mark Twain admits that the Phelps home in *Huckleberry Finn* is the old Quarles home that he has transplanted to Arkansas; however, he makes no mention of this similarity between the Quarles home and the home of the Grangerfords.

As Huck made his memorable trip with Jim down the Mississippi he had actual contact with a religious service on two occasions. Both of them were more or less unavoidable. While staying with the Grangerfords he attended

⁶Clemens, Samuel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 132.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸Paine, Albert B., *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, p. 3.

church with the family; also, farther on down the river, he attended an Arkansas camp meeting with the King. These two religious contacts are interesting to us because of the fact that a decided similarity exists between the church that Huck attended with the Grangerfords and the Florida church of Sam Clemens' early childhood. In addition, the benches described in the account of the Arkansas camp meeting are very similar to the benches that were in this church at Florida, Missouri.

As before, the quotations in the first column are from *Huckleberry Finn*. They describe the church as Huck found it on the Sunday afternoon that he went there after Miss Sophia Grangerford's testament. She had purposely left it during the morning service to serve as a means of getting a note from her secret lover, young Harney Shepherdson. The lines in the second column describe the Florida church and are to be found in the *Autobiography*.

... there warn't anybody at the church, except maybe a hog or two, for there warn't any lock on the door, and hogs like a puncheon floor in summertime it's cool.⁹

There was a log church, with a puncheon floor and slab benches. A puncheon floor is made of logs whose upper surfaces have been chipped flat with the adze. The cracks between the logs were not filled; there was no carpet; consequently, if you dropped anything smaller than a peach, it was likely to go through. The church was perched on short sections of logs which elevated it two or three feet from the ground. Hogs slept under there, and whenever the dogs got after them during the services, the minister had to wait till after the disturbance was over. In winter there was always a refreshing breeze up through the puncheon floor; in summer there were fleas enough for all.¹⁰

⁹Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 153.

¹⁰Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 7.

The benches were made of outside slabs of logs, with holes bored in the round side to drive sticks into for legs. They didn't have no backs.¹¹

A slab bench is made of the outside cut of a sawlog, with the bark side down; it is supported on four sticks driven into auger holes at the ends; it has no back and no cushions.¹²

The next parallelisms Mark Twain has himself admitted. In the left column are quotations describing the Silas Phelps home; in the second column are quotations describing the John A. Quarles home. They come from Paine and from *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, and attest to the very successful movement of the farm from Missouri to Arkansas.

"A rail fence ran around a two-acre yard; a stile made out of logs sawed off and up-ended in steps, like barrels of a different length, to climb over a fence with, and for women to stand on when they are going to jump onto a horse; . . . big double log house for the white folks . . ."¹³

"The farm-house stood in the middle of a very large yard . . . fenced on three sides with rails and . . . entered over a stile made of sawed-off logs of graduated height."¹⁴

"When I got a little ways I heard the dim hum of a spinning-wheel wailing along up and sinking along down again; and then I knowed for certain I wished I was dead—for that is the loneliest sound in the whole world."¹⁵

". . . a spinning wheel in [one corner] . . . a wheel whose rising and falling wail, heard from a distance, was the mournfulest of all sounds to me, and made me homesick and low spirited, and filled my atmosphere with wandering spirits of the dead; . . ."¹⁶

". . . we bid good night and went up to bed right after supper, and clumb out of the window and down the lightning-rod, and shoved off for the town . . ."¹⁷

"It was a very satisfactory room, and there was a lightning rod which was reachable from the window, an adorable and skittish thing to climb up and down, summer nights, when there were duties on hand of a sort to make privacy desirable."¹⁸

¹¹Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 181.

¹²Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 8.

¹³Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 303.

¹⁴Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 98.

¹⁵Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 304.

¹⁶Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, pp. 102-103.

¹⁷Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 320.

¹⁸Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, pp. 113-114.

"And so we went for the snakes, and grabbed a couple of dozen garters and house-snakes and put them in a bag, and put it in our room . . . and there wasn't a blessed snake up there when we went back . . . we didn't half tie the sack and they worked out somehow."¹⁹

" . . . when they were 'house snakes,' or 'garters', we carried them and put them in Aunt Patsey's work basket for a surprise; for she was prejudiced against snakes . . ."²⁰

"They'd had all the dogs shut up, so they wouldn't scare off the robbers; but by this time somebody had let them loose, and there they come, making a powwow enough for a million [dogs] so we stopped in our tracks till they caught up . . ."²¹

"A toot on a tin horn brought twice as many dogs as were needed, and in their happiness they raced and scampered about, and knocked small people down, and made no end of unnecessary noise. At the word, they vanished away towards the woods, and we drifted silently after them in the melancholy gloom."²²

It is evident from these parallelisms that when Mark Twain moved the Quarles farm, consciously, or unconsciously, many of his boyhood associations went with it.

The Florida contacts were, moreover, not merely physical. Twain's recollections of Florida involved, in no small part, memories of relatives then residing there. Outstanding among these was John A. Quarles, an uncle whom Mark Twain learned to love in his early boyhood. Of him in the late years of his life Mark Twain wrote, "I have not come across a better man. . . . I was his guest for two or three months every year, from the fourth year after we removed to Hannibal till I was eleven or twelve years old."²³ Genial southern-born John Quarles moved to Missouri soon after the Missouri compromise of 1820 had thrown the territory open to slavery. He became a merchant and operated some four miles north of Florida a plantation which he worked with some thirty slaves. The financial status of such a man is not realized until it is known that "average prices on

¹⁹Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 367.

²⁰Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, pp. 103-104.

²¹Clemens, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, p. 379.

²²Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 114.

²³*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 96.

prime field hands (unskilled young men) in Virginia," were in 1835, approximately one thousand dollars.²⁴ Records in the recorder's office of Monroe county show that in the course of the years 1836 to 1840, John Quarles acquired in separate purchases four hundred acres of land as well as several lots within the town of Florida, and that in subsequent years he made many additional purchases.²⁵ He was thus a substantial citizen and possessed at the time the Clemenses came to Florida the economic security that John Clemens sought during the whole of his life. It was John Quarles who wrote the letter that brought the Clemens family from Pall Mall, Tennessee, to the hamlet on Salt river. After arriving in Florida, Clemens went into business with Quarles in the store, but "they dissolved partnership at the end of two or three years, and Clemens opened business for himself across the street."²⁶ Very interesting to note is the fact that there is no record of a break in the seemingly friendly relations of the two families, and after the Clemens family moved to Hannibal, but before the death of Sam's father, it was the hospitality of John Quarles that made it possible for little Sam to enjoy the healthful environment of the farm.

Stories of Quarles are still to be heard in Monroe county, particularly around Paris, the county seat, where he was for a number of years the proprietor of a hotel known as the Virginia house. As with almost all men of his kind, substantial and practical, but unknown to fame, and without gift of self-expression, information is bound to be meagre, and a blend of fact and vague recollection. One story there is of Quarles' days as a landlord which would have delighted his nephew, and, had Quarles been a blood relation, might have seemed significant of a family strain of wit.

Guests were numerous at the Virginia house on this occasion. The event was such that all hotel rooms were occupied by men, and on the morning in question they rose early, availed themselves of the wash-room facilities, such as they were, came down and had their breakfasts. One guest, seemingly a late riser, did not like the condition of the towel and

²⁴Phillips, Ulrich R., *American Negro Slavery*, p. 370, see chart.

²⁵*The Warranty Deed Book, Monroe County, 1836-1840.*

²⁶Palne, *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, p. 19.

complained to the proprietor that the towel was dirty and not a fit thing for a self-respecting man to dry on. Quarles calmly told him that seventy-five men had dried on that towel during the last two days and that this was the first complaint that he had had.²⁷

Of the character and personality of Quarles, T. V. Bodine has this to say:

Though whimsical and kindly, John A. Quarles was a strong, virile, capable man with sympathy and imagination He had a certain potentiality and individuality of his own . . . , countless legends survive regarding him. His stories as a storekeeper in Florida, as a candidate for county judge, and later during the Civil War, as a landlord of the old Virginia House in Paris, are still retold today.²⁸

With respect to his direct influence upon Sam's childhood, Albert Biglow Paine adds:

There was a halo around anything that belonged to Uncle John Quarles, and that halo was the jovial, hilarious kindness of the gentle-hearted, humane man. To visit his house was for a child to be in a heaven of mirth and pranks continually.²⁹

In personal appearance he is said to have resembled the Mark Twain of later years, "with his big features, leonine head, and long gray hair."³⁰ A wonderful companion he must have been; however, it is doubtful if the "heaven of mirth and pranks" added any years to the life of Aunt Patsey, his wife, who died at the comparatively young age of forty-three. According to Paine, John Quarles, as a disciplinarian of the children, was most unusual in the methods he employed.

He would make the most fearful threats to his own children, for disobedience, but never executed any of them. When they were out fishing and returned late he would say:

"You—if I have to hunt you again after dark, I will make you smell like a burnt horn."

Nothing could exceed the ferocity of his threat, and all the children, with delightful terror and curiosity, wondered what would happen—if it ever did happen—that would result in giving a child that peculiar savor.³¹

²⁷Bodine, T. V., "A Journey to the Home of Mark Twain," *Kansas City Star*, May 19, 1912.

²⁸Quoted in Braashear, *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*, p. 53.

²⁹Paine, *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, p. 18.

³⁰Bodine, "A Journey to the Home of Mark Twain."

³¹Paine, *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, p. 18.

The religion of Sam's Uncle John is well covered in this excerpt from T. V. Bodine.

The question of human destiny, the why, the whence, the whither, was always with him. Unable to reconcile it with the accepted dogmas of his people, and driven by promptings of a vigorous mind and a kindly heart, he became a "Universalist." What that meant during the days following the revival of Paulinian teaching in the valley country . . . we of today cannot appreciate. It was even worse than being an "Infidel", and often converted a man into a social pariah, though John Quarles did not suffer this fate, his natural kindness and his general usefulness as a man and a citizen saving him from the common penalty.²²

The religion of John Quarles was like that of his brother-in-law, John Clemens, in that it was a sort of "out of the church religion." Mark Twain had this to say of his father's religion:

. . . albeit he attended no church and never spoke of religious matters and had no part or lot in the pious joys of his Presbyterian family, nor ever seemed to suffer from this deprivation.²³

Though Sam's mother, Jane Clemens, is reputed to have backslidden in later years, she was very ardent in her religious beliefs during the time in question. Indeed Aunt Polly, her counterpart in the writings of Mark Twain, was represented as the type of woman who would attempt to convoy her children into the kingdom of heaven.

Now, if we add to these types of religion the simple faith and the many superstitions of the negro, we begin to have some idea of the complexity of Sam's spiritual background during these early years. With conflicts such as these within the family circle, it is easy to see why the whys and the whences and the whithers worried him as they did his Uncle John. *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven* and *Eve's Diary* are evidence of this. It is to be noted too that the religious feelings of Mark Twain are more closely related to those of John Quarles and his father than they are to those of his mother. To say that this similarity is a direct outgrowth of his early

²²Quoted in Brashear, *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*, p. 53.

²³Paine, Albert B., *Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 271.

association with John Quarles would be a dangerous assumption; however, it is interesting to note the likeness that existed in their beliefs.

Once again these Florida contacts were important in helping to determine Twain's attitude toward the negro and slavery as an institution. The 1848 census of Monroe county gave the total population as 9558, of which 1826 were slaves and 40 were free persons of color.³⁴ In these first formative years Sam Clemens was in an environment that abounded with extremes in the treatment of the negro. There were free negroes in Monroe county, and in addition at the river town of Hannibal there was an occasion when Sam saw "a dozen black men and women chained together lying in a group on the pavement, waiting shipment to a southern slave market. They had the saddest faces I ever saw."³⁵ Midway between these two extremes is the type of slavery that Sam Clemens came to know in his boyhood home and on the farm of John Quarles.

Perhaps it can be safely inferred that the treatment of the free negro in Monroe county was not too far removed from the treatment described in this scrap of history,

Primitive Justice

In 1827 or 1828, in what is now known as Union township, [just south of Jefferson township in which Florida is located] there lived John Burton, a justice of the peace. Reuben Burton, his brother, had lost a hog, and finding it in the possession of one, Rioux, a free negro, brought suit before his brother John for the possession of it. The day of the trial came. The plaintiff was present with his lawyer, J. C. Cox; the defendant was also present but had no lawyer. The trial was about over, and the witnesses, as it was thought, had all been sworn and examined, when the justice, a large, tall man, rose from his seat and requested Pleasant Ford, who was a constable to swear him. Ford administered the oath to the justice as requested by the Official, then the justice gave his testimony. He said that he was in possession of some facts in reference to the hog that were not presented to the court by the other witnesses, and after giving his testimony, he decided the case in favor of the free negro. He had often hunted with the negro and knew the hog to be his, and hence decided in

³⁴*History of Monroe and Shelby Counties* (1884), p. 275.

³⁵Paine, *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, p. 48.

his favor, and against the claim of his own brother. The justice, however, was known to be a just and truthful man, and his evidence was so clear and convincing that the decision was regarded by the bystanders as being right."²⁸

On the other hand, being "sold down the river" to work on the big southern plantations was the worst thing that could happen to negroes of that section and they lived in constant dread of it. It was this threat that caused Jim to make his famous trip down the Mississippi. At the age of ten Sam Clemens saw a man in a fit of anger kill his slave with a piece of iron ore. His feelings at this time compare very favorably to the feeling that Huck Finn evinced in telling his Aunt Sally of an imaginary steamboat explosion where no one was hurt. A negro was killed, but that was added as an afterthought and had no effect on the case. Can anything be further removed from the spirit of "Primitive Justice" than these two incidents? Nevertheless, these extremes were part of the environment of his Florida years.

On the Quarles farm Sam saw slavery in a form that approached the idyllic state, if any can be so termed. He was very near to this type of slavery for the first twelve years of his life. John Clemens said that he would have freed his own slaves if he could have done so without inconveniencing his family. On the other hand he thought nothing of cuffing a slave, and on one occasion, while in residence in Florida, he tied the wrists of Jenny, the slave girl, and whipped her because she had been particularly saucy with Mrs. Clemens.

Varying accounts have left some uncertainty as to the number of slaves owned by Quarles, but the weight of evidence points, as has already been indicated, to a total of approximately thirty. As to the importance of certain of these slaves in Twain's boyhood as he recalled it, there can be no question. "Nigger Jim" of *Huckleberry Finn* was in real life Uncle Dan'l, a middle-aged slave on the Quarles farm. Of him, Twain says,

We had a faithful and affectionate good friend, ally, and adviser in "Uncle Dan'l", the middle-aged slave whose head was the best one in the negro quarter, whose sympathies were wide and warm, and whose heart

²⁸*History of Monroe and Shelby Counties*, p. 177.

was honest and simple and knew no guile. He has served me well these many, many years. I have not seen him for more than half a century, and yet spiritually I have had his welcome company a good part of the time, and have staged him in books under his own name and as "Jim", and carted him all around—to Hannibal, down the Mississippi on a raft, and across the Desert of Sahara in a balloon—and he endured it with all the patience and friendliness and loyalty which were his birthright. It was on the farm that I got my strong liking for the race and my appreciation of certain of its fine qualities. This feeling and this estimate have stood the test of sixty years and more, and have suffered no impairment. The black face is as welcome to me now as it was then.³⁷

Paine has this to say about the association of Sam Clemens with the negroes on the Quarles farm:

His tendency to mischief grew with this wide liberty, improved health, and the encouragement of John Quarles's good-natured fun-loving slaves.

The negro quarters beyond the orchard were especially attractive. In one cabin lived a bed-ridden, white-headed old woman whom the children visited daily and looked upon with awe; for she was said to be a thousand years old and to have talked with Moses. The negroes believed this; the children, too, of course, and that she had lost her health in the desert, coming out of Egypt. The bald spot on her head was caused by fright at seeing Pharaoh drowned. She also knew how to avert spells and ward off witches, which added greatly to her prestige. Uncle Dan'l was a favorite, too—kind-hearted and dependable, while his occasional lock-jaw gave him an unusual distinction.³⁸

Paine also gives the best account available of the two slaves that belonged to the Clemens family, and of the high place they held in the affection of the children.

All the children of the time were fond of the negroes and confided in them. They would, in fact, have been lost without such protection and company.

It was Jennie, the house-girl, and Uncle Ned, a man of all work—apparently acquired with the improved prospects—who were in real charge of the children and supplied them with entertainment. Wonderful entertainment it was. That was a time of visions and dreams, small gossip and superstitions. Old tales were repeated over and over, with adornments and improvements suggested by immediate events. At evening the Clemens children, big and little, gathered around the big open fireplace while Jennie and Uncle Ned told tales and hair-lifting legends.

³⁷Clemens, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, p. 100.

³⁸Paine, *Mark Twain*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83.

Even a baby of two or three could follow the drift of this primitive telling and would shiver and cling close with the terror and delight of its curdling thrill.³⁹

The story of the "golden arm",⁴⁰ told so effectively by Mark Twain on the lecture platform in later years, was told more than once by Uncle Ned in the setting described above.

It was in Florida that Sam saw his first runaway slave caught, bound, and held for his owner. There was always a fear in the heart of the children that they might some day come upon a runaway slave who in his desperation might do them injury. Huck's attitude toward the runaway slave, Jim, in the early part of *Huckleberry Finn*, might well have been conditioned by this attitude of fear.

The liking for the colored race acquired by Twain in his early boyhood persisted as long as he lived. George, Twain's colored butler, served in the household for a long time; as Clemens said, he came to wash the windows and stayed for eighteen years. It was Auntie Cord, the cook at Quarry farm, who became the Auntie Rachel of *A True Story Repeated Word for Word as I Heard It*.

[She] was a Virginia negress who had been twice sold as a slave, and was proud of the fact; particularly proud that she had brought \$1000 on the block. All her children had been sold away from her . . . and now at sixty she was fat and seemingly without care. She had told her story to Mrs. Crane, who had more than once tried to get her to tell it to Clemens; but Auntie Cord was reluctant. One evening, however, when the family sat on the front veranda in the moonlight, looking down on the picture city, as was their habit, Auntie Cord came around to say good night, and Clemens engaged her in conversation. He led up to the story, and almost before she knew it she was seated at his feet telling the same tale in almost the exact words in which it was set down by him the next morning.⁴¹

Mrs. Crane was Olivia's sister and Quarry farm belonged to Stephen Crane, brother-in-law of Mark Twain. Located just outside Elmira, New York, it is famous in American literary history as the place where Mark Twain wrote *Huckleberry Finn*. It is perhaps, not unreasonable to see in this environ-

³⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 18.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 514-515.

ment of Quarry farm in which Twain saw his own children revelling, something definitely reminiscent of the Quarles farm at Florida on which he had spent so many happy hours in his carefree boyhood. To some degree this may well have stimulated the vivid memories preserved in *Huckleberry Finn*.

THE ROAD WEST IN 1818, THE DIARY OF HENRY VEST BINGHAM

PART II

EDITED BY MARIE GEORGE WINDELL¹

Henry Vest Bingham, father of the Missouri artist, George Caleb Bingham, and a native of Augusta county, Virginia, came on a scouting expedition to the West in the early summer of 1818 in search of land to recoup his fortune. Following the post roads, he traveled through Virginia and Tennessee, by way of the Cumberland gap, across Kentucky to Louisville, and along the Vincennes trace to St. Louis. On his return to Virginia he chose the road to Shawneetown and Nashville to gain a wider picture of varieties of land and prices.

A more complete description of his route and a short biography appears in the introduction to Part I of this article, published in the October issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*. Bingham's pagination is indicated by bracketed numbers in boldface type.

THE DIARY OF HENRY VEST BINGHAM

June the 4th we Started Early and Came through the Country which is all Rich & mostly praria which aford the hansomist Views I have Ever Beheld Beautifull Meadows allmost apeating to the Eye without End In these prarias are Some Creeks and Branches which In verry Dry weather we were Informed Did not Run Exept a verry few But good well water may Be had any where on high Ground By Diging from 20 to 30 feet we have Been in the unsurved part of the Territory Since we Left Higgens about 4 or 5 Miles for 20 miles from Higgens the Country is mostly praria with a few Intermitions of Timber Land Nearly Level

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and not a partile [particle?] of Stone or gravel; Some of the prarias ar[are] 5 or 6 miles over and Reach Considerably father[farther] to South west and North East which is the Course they apear to Range we then Entered the Timber land Near Mudy Creek² and Came on two miles through the worst Muddy Road I Ever Saw the horses apear'd as tho they would Stick fast frequently— in about 2 miles we arived at the Creek over which we had to Swim our horses and Crossed our Selves in a Canoe; we then Came on 3 miles farther through the Mire up to our horses knees to the little Wabash River³ over which we had again to Swim our horses and Cross our Selves In a Canoe; the Land Between Mudy Creek and the River is all heavily Timbered the little Wabash is about 30 yds over at this place which is Call'd McCaulys Ferry or fording this River is Navigable allmost all the year for flat Boats But as the Country is not[?] Settled only By Squatters it is not used at present; on the west Bank of the River which is high and dry we put up for the Night at Mr. McCauley here we saw two Indian Squaws who had Been in for whiskey & Corn—

June the 5th we started about 8 oclock In the fore Noon and Came on about one & half miles through Timber which like all the Timber Land I have seen In this Territory Inclines to Be Swampy and lys Level & Low

we then Entered [22] What is here Call'd the 16 mile praria which is Dryer and not Intirely Level we gradually Ascended for about 3 miles and arived at an Eminance which gave us a good View of the praria; we Could See the woods to the west In front & to the East In our Rear But to the South and North East it is one Continued plain as far as Eye Could Reach Coverd with Grass about a foot high at this

²Muddy creek, a branch of the Little Wabash flowing into it on the eastern side, entered just below the Vincennes road. Between the two streams for some distance was a swamp, remaining as late as 1832-1833, which overflowed in high water. Peck, John M., *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 258.

³The Little Wabash river rises near the headwaters of the Kaskaskia. Peck stated that it was navigable in 1832-1833 for flatboats and small craft at high water. "About forty of the former [flatboats] leave it annually, from Wayne and White counties, with beef, pork, corn, cattle, and some tobacco, for the New Orleans market." The bottoms were subject to inundation at high water. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Eminance Near us we Discovrd two praria wolves or Dogs which were about the Sise of a Common Cur Dog a Little Shaggy which makes them Resemble the Spaniel they were Nearly the Couler of Dry Broom Straw I galloped after them and found they could not Run fast and I supose If I had have had a fresh Swift horse I Could have Caught them when I Stopped following them they turnd Round and Stood Looking at me at the Distance of about 100 yds

we Came on through the prararia In a most Exellent Road for 7 miles further and Enterd the Timber Land which we again found Swampy and poorer than any I had seen here we Stopped at a small Branch & Drank some of the water which like all the Runing water I have Seen in this Territory is thick and of a Stagnant apearance;⁴ we Came on a Mile or two through the Timber Land and as we advanced it apeard not so Swampy and of a Better quallity Some of which is a little Rowling we Came on about 3 miles and again Enterd a Level Rich prarai we Came on about 5 miles and again Enterd Timber Land in which we Crossed a Small Creek and in about 1 mile we again Enterd a Large praria we Came on through the South Corner of it to a point of Timber Land here Being a Cabbिन and finding no other Chance to Stay for 42 miles we Concluded to Stay till the Next morning; the Cabin Being Small and By Dark we had got 10 men In Number of us we were pretty much Crauded the Land Lord was not at home and the Land Lady Being a Brisk young woman Made a pallet over the Small floor which was not Ocupied By the two small Beds [beds] which Stood In the Room 4 of us took the two Beds and the other [23] took the pallet which Coverd the whole floor and their Being no loft to the house our little Land Lady having no other place to Retreat to verry Nimble Crept under the Bed where she Staid till morning

⁴According to Benjamin Flower, on the ridge between the greater and the Little Wabash rivers the "stock of water in ponds for cattle, was liable to run dry in a few weeks, and the settlement apprehended some temporary inconvenience from the circumstance." Flower, Richard, *Letters from the Illinois, 1820, 1821*, in Thwaites, Reuben G., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. X, pp. 153-154, appendix.

In the morning we Came on Early through 2 prairias and Some Skirts of Timber Land and Crossed Several Creeks some of which were verry Mirery and having Come 12 miles and finding a Cabbin we Concluded we would if posible Get Something to Eat we Rode up to the Cabbin which was without Door Shutter or Chimney the Cracks Being Intirly open with a Green Deer hide hanging on one of the Joists and a Stick of Jerked Venison Sticking to the wall and a Lasy Cow Standing with her head into the Door and apeard as if she had Been in as there was some of her Dung in Side of the Door which Gave the place a Bad appearance however we must get something to Eat here or Ride 30 miles through the hot sun without It. I Call'd at the Door and there Came a Dirty Ragged Looking woman to the Door who I asked if she Could get us Some Breakfast She Replied that She Could; But She had no Bread nor Salt; I then asked her what She Could give us to Eat as She had neither Bread nor Salt; She Said She Could Give us Some Jerked Venison⁵ and Some Milk and honey I told her to prepare some for us; which when she had Done she placed it on the only thing In the Cabbin that was as high as a Table which was a Bench about a foot wide and about 3 foot long which It apeard from the Greese and Chaps on it was a Bench they made use of to Cut out their Venison on; when I Came In to Breakfast the Smell of the Green Deer hide and a Dirty Child on a Sort of Bead and the Cow Dung In and at the Door with the Black apearence of the Bench without a Cloth prevented me from Eating a Great Deel; I Enquired of the woman what her Name was & she Said her Name was Snotgrass which Name I think Coresponds with the apearence of the Cabbin; I am [24] well Convinced that I have never witnessed as much poverty filth and Lazyness in the Same Space Before in my life; and hope not to See the like again;

⁵Deer were very numerous in Illinois at this time and were particularly valuable to the class, here mentioned, reared in frontier habits. Fresh venison hams sold usually for twenty-five cents. Peck, John M., *New Guide for Emigrants to the West, Containing Sketches of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, with the Territory of Wisconsin and the Adjacent Parts*, p. 284.

feeling a little Sick and Vext; we Started from this abode of filth and Came on (having Drank no water Since we left Higgins that was fit to Drink) through a praria of about 3 miles and through Timber about the Same Distance and Enterd a wing of of what is here Call'd the Grand praria We Came on about 5 miles to a Creek and a Skirt of Timber where we Stoped and let our horses Grase a while about 11 OClock we Enterd the Boddy of the Grand praria which is 20 miles over at this place (the way the Road Runs) and to the North East it is Said to Extend above a hundred Miles

we Came on at a Brisk pace through the praria and arived at the point of woods where is a Settlement about 3 oClock In the afternoon here is a well of good water and a Mr. Fisk & Lee from the State of New York keeps here a good house of Entertainment where we Concluded to Stay untill the Next morning Mr. Lee Informed us that the Land was Surveyed about 7- miles from his house on the road we had Come and that he had paid about 8\$ pr acre for the Quarter Section of Land he Was living on But that the Land adjoining it he had purchased for 5\$ around this End of the praria are a Number of New Settlements In Sight of this place all tho Some of them ar 10 miles Distant

this is a verry hansome Situation Being an Eminance at the South East of a point of Timber Land that puts into the praria the prararia is verry Rich here and falls off on Every Side with a Gentle Slope to the Level plain on the North East is a Meadow as far as the Eye Can Reach without Intermission or Interception Exept By Now and then a Sollitary white Oak Tree which at a Distance has the apearence of a Ship under ful Sail at Sea; In front to the South East is a Beautiful plain Reaching 10 miles to the Timber along the Edge of which are a Number of Settlements Just [25] peeping above the Grass on the South and South west the Same Delightfull View Continues only the Timber Land on the South west Draws Some Nearer and the Buildings are more plainly Seen on the west the timber is within two Miles and the Nighbors are Completely In View the Grass around this is about 2 feet high at this time and our Land Lord Mowed Some for our horses—

June the 7th we Started Early and Came on for 2 miles through the west point [point] or wing of the same prairie and Entered Timber Land we Came on through the Timber about a Mile and arrived at the Okaw River⁶ which is here about 30 yds over we then after ascending the Bluffs of the River Entered a prairie through which we Came 4 miles and Entered the Timber again we Came on about a Mile and Entered a prairie which Continued about 3 miles In the Edges of these prairies Next to the Timber are a Number of Settlers; we Came on a Mile or two through the Timber and arrived at Shoal Creek at which place is a little Village here a Set of Land Speculators keeps an office under the Directions of Mr. Pierce; from Shoal Creek (which is about 20 yds over and Navigable at high water) we Came on and Ascended the Bluffs of the Creek and Entered a prairie through which we Came 7 miles and again Entered Timber Land which Continued for several Miles and we Entered the Looking Glass prairie⁷ which is 8 miles over the way the Road Leads which [which] is a west Course and is Said to Extend to the North East 700 Miles In this prairie on an Eminence about 5 miles from where we Entered It along the Road Lives and [an] old Man By the Name of Fullton where we Stopped and fed our horses; from Fultons we Came on 3 miles and Entered the Timber Land But the timber is Low & Scrubby and we again in about a mile Entered the prairie in which we found Several Cabins in about a mile we Entered Timber again of [26] of the same kind and Came on through it and Several

⁶The Okaw river was a name given to the Kaskaskia river as a corruption of the French *Au Kas*. Such a contraction, using the first syllable from the whole name and prefixing the article, was a common practice among early settlers in Illinois. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 292.

⁷Looking glass prairie lay between Silver and Sugar creeks on the eastern border of St. Clair county. It commenced near the base line in range 6 west, and extended northward about twenty miles into Madison county, and was from six to ten miles in width. *Ibid.*, p. 243. It was described by Charles Dickens in 1842 as "a vast expanse of level ground; unbroken save by one thin line of trees, which scarcely amounted to a scratch on the great blank . . . It was lonely and wild, but oppressive in its barren monotony." *American Notes for General Circulation*, p. 42.

Small Skirts of prairie and arrived at Silver Creek³ here the timber is Larger than on the high Land after Leaving the Creek we Came to some New Settlements around a prairie and again Entered Timber Land Consisting of Scrubby white or Box Oak & Hickory here we found Some hills through which we passed and Running water that is Clear in Some Small Branches and a little to the Right of the Road is a good Clear Spring of Cool water Near a Cabin about a half mile from the Spring and about 9 miles from Fulltons In the Looking Glass prairie we Entered a fine high prairie in the Edge of which we Stopped at Mr. McKees⁴ for the Night here are a Number of Irishmen Settled In Cabins they have fine wheat in this prairie Mr. McKee keeps a very Dirty house altho he is able to keep a Better one he keeps a Swill tub Standing in a Corner of the Room (where we Eat & tried to sleep) which Stinks as Bad as a hog pen

we got up Early on the 8th of June and Came on through the prairie which has more Rowling and has Some Branches of Clear water Running through It there is a Number of settlers around the Edge of It the way we Came It Extends about 5 miles it has a fine Rich Soil which we were told was Selling for 10\$ pr acre we are also Informed that It afforded Some fine Springs of good water and would produce from 30 to 40 Bushels of wheat pr Acre & from 50 to 80 Bushels Indian Corn after Coming on the 5 miles we Entered Timber Land the Timber is Low But the Land is good we now found we were Near the Bluffs of the Missisippia River and Came on about a Mile and Descended the Bluffs which are steep hills Covered with Grass here are Some pretty little Streams of good water Running in the hollows of the Bluffs [27] after Descending the Bluffs we Entered what is Call'd the

³Silver creek derived its name from the belief that silver was supposed to exist in St. Clair county. In early times a shaft was sunk here by the French, and tradition tells of large quantities of the ore being obtained. In 1828 on the basis of the tradition, many dug for the ore but found none. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, pp. 15, 271.

⁴A fork of Sugar creek in Schuyler county, a mill stream, three miles north of Rushville, was named McKee's branch. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

American Bottom¹⁰ we Came on about a mile over Rich Land and Entered the French Village¹¹ which is a Village of Low Bred Dirty Creole French here we Got Breakfast in the Best Looking house But a Dirty house it is the Chickens Roust up in the Garret and In the Gallery or porch which Reaches all Round the house But few of them can speak English here are Some Large ponds or Swamps which I Suppose must make this place unhealthy¹² from the Village we Came on through Some Rich Timber Land for a mile or two and again Entered a Large praria on the North west Side of this praria are a Number of Mounds thrown up from 8 to 15 feet high from 20 to 150 Steps from Each other In a kind of zigzag line Extending for Near a Mile around the Edge of the prairie¹³ the Soil appears as Rich on the Top of them as on the level plain and more Loose they are

¹⁰The American bottom received its name when it constituted the western boundary of the United States and afterwards retained it. Beginning at the mouth of the Kaskaskia river, it extended for ninety miles along the Mississippi to Alton with an average width of five miles. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹There were several French villages in the American bottom at this time. André Michaux stated in 1802 that he "went to the Village of St. Philippe in [the bottoms] called the Little Village." *Journal of Travels in Kentucky, 1793-1796*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. III, p. 78. Mason visited the villages there in 1819 and described the French in general appeared "to be a wretched set of beings. Their great-coats are made out of a blanket, with a cap or hood, cut of the same piece. . . . The pig pens in Pennsylvania are generally as clean and much better built than the miserable huts occupied by these lazy people. In a state of almost starvation they hold their Gumbo balls twice a week. For nimbleness of foot and lightness of heart the French have never been surpassed." *Narrative of Richard Lee Mason*, p. 81. Most of the French in this section had crossed the Mississippi to the earlier Spanish territory. According to Buck, it is doubtful if there were more than 1500 people of French descent living in Illinois in 1818. Buck, *Solon, Illinois in 1818*, pp. 88-89. This number even included a few in Lawrence county who had crossed from the Vincennes settlement. Formerly called the "Little French Village," it was formed by settlers from Cahokia about 1795. According to Peck it lay on the American bottom near the bluffs on the road from Belleville to St. Louis and in 1832-1833 contained 15 or 20 families. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 207.

¹²Peck stated that the French settled in the American bottom "near a lake or a river, apparently in the most unhealthy places, and yet their constitutions are little affected, and they usually enjoy good health." *Ibid.*, p. 6. Lewis C. Beck said in 1817 that the area did "not afford a single site for a healthy town." *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 76. Indeed so widespread was the stagnant water that "the old inhabitants advise the emigrants not to plant corn in the immediate vicinity of their dwellings, as its rich and massy foliage prevents the sun from dispelling the deleterious vapors." Peck, *Guide to Emigrants*, p. 262.

¹³Mounds were very numerous on the American bottom; the largest group was about eight miles above St. Louis with more than forty in an area of four or five miles. Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 43.

Coverd with Grass and Strawberrys¹⁴ which abound In this praria; here we again Enterd Timber Land Composed of Large Timber Such as Cotton wood ash wallnut &c through which passes a Creek of Stagnant looking water over which is a Rough wooden Bridge on which we Crossed; we Came on about half a Mile and arived at the Missisipia at the uper Ferry this Bottom has the apearance of Being all made Land the Soil is verry Rich and as Deep as we Could See Down the Bank which is Some places 12 or 15 feet; The Bank is Continually tumbling in and in the Course of 9 or 10 years has fallen In 2 or 3 hundred yards we Crossed over to St. Louis in a flat[boat] the River at this Ferry is Said to Be about three fourths of a Mile over when we Landed at St. Louis we found Some Difficulty in getting Lodgings and Stables for our horses But at [28] [last?] we got our horses into a Livery Stable and got Board and Lodgings in a private Boarding house

St. Louis¹⁵ is Situated on the west Bank of the River on the first Bank which Next to the River is a limestone Rock it has three streets Between the River and the Second Bank or Bluff the one Next to the River is Main Street the Next is Calld Church Street and the other third Street; these Streets Run parallel with the River and Extend about a Mile they are verry Narraw and not verry Straight there are a Number of Cross Streets that Run from the River at Right Angles with the Main Street Main Street is Closely Built a good part of the Distance and some good Brick Buildings after the American fashion and a Number of Stone Buildings after the old French mode which with the Stone walls around Some of the French Lots makes the Town have

¹⁴Flint described this area "In the time of strawberries, [when] thousands of acres are reddened with the finest quality of this delicious fruit." Flint, Timothy, *The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*. . . . (1832), Vol. I, p. 319.

¹⁵According to the St. Louis directory of 1821, "the buildings are of wood, generally small and indifferent; but a number of spacious and commodious stone and brick house are now erecting [sic]. There are in this town, twenty two commercial establishments. . . . Besides two banking institutions with a capital of half a million of dollars." Paxton, John A., *The St. Louis Directory and Register, Containing the Names, Professions, and Residence of All the Heads of Families and Persons in Business* (1821), reprinted in *St. Louis Directory for the Years, 1854-5*.

a Confined apearance after we were In it—Church Street is not so well Built But is Improving verry fast and So is third Street there are Some good Buildings on the hill which I think will Soon Be the hansomest part of the Town St. Louis from the Best Information I Could Get on the Subject I Suppose has from five to Six thousand Inhabitance¹⁶ it is a Considerable Mercantile place and no Doubt will Be a place of Importance In a few years as its Situation is helthy and its Shore good; and it lys Below the Mouths of the three Great Rivers which Runs through a verry Extensive Tract of Rich Country which is Rapidly Settling with a Number of Rich Enterprising men the Commerce of which must all Center at St. Louis on the high ground Back of St. Louis are Several Stone forts Built By the Spaniards In a Circular [29] [design] from about 15 or 20 feet high with Small port holes Calculated for Small arms only, Some of the Lots that are wall'd, In Down in the Town have port holes of the Same Description;¹⁷

The Indians Carry on a Considerable Trade with this place In furr & peltry there are now a Number [of] the Sioux Nation in Town¹⁸ they are a Stout able Bodied Set of Men Rather more So than I have Ever Seen few of them I think would weigh Less than 200 lbs and a Number of them will weigh Considerable over 200 lbs they are not Corpulent But Raw Boned with Large Muscles & Sineues

¹⁶The directory of 1821 gave the population of St. Louis in 1818 as 3,500.

¹⁷"The circular stone forts beyond the town, white with plaster, and the hoariness of age, together with the whiteness of the houses in general, from the French fashion of annual white-washing, gave the town a romantic and imposing appearance, when seen from a distance." Flint, *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, Vol. I, p. 307. After the attack on St. Louis from Mackinac, called by the French, l'annee du coup, the city had been fortified by the Spanish with these bastions. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

¹⁸On August 24, 1818, the Quapaws, a southwestern Siouan tribe concluded a treaty in St. Louis ceding land from the mouth of the Arkansas river, up the river to the source of the Canadian fork, south to Red river, down the middle of that river to the Big raft, thence a direct line to the Mississippi, thirty leagues south of the mouth of the Arkansas. Since the territory of the United States reached only to 100° W. longitude, this area was of course limited to that meridian. The Quapaws also relinquished their right to their claims to land east of the Mississippi river. The area ceded excepted a reservation on the Arkansas. Royce, Charles C., "Schedule of Indian Land Cessions," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-1897*, pp. 688-690.

Square Built with Square well proportioned faces and a Serious Countenance which would Seem to Bespeak a Strong mind If Cultivated They have Small Ankles and feet and appear active; upon the whole I have Never Seen 100 Men In My life So Stout looking as was 100 of them that passed through the Street this afternoon They are of a Dark Chesnut Couler with Long Black hair which appears a little Course they were Naked Exept a Breech Claut Suspended Round their waist which Reached about half way their thighs and Magasons on their feet Sometimes when they walked through the Streets they threw a Buffalow hide over their Shoulders which Reached Near the Ground this Tribe lives about 1000 Miles up the Missori River at which place Government is about to place a Garrison of 500 men to prevent Lord Selkirk & the Northwest Company from Trading with the Indians¹⁹

In the American Boundary Governer Clarke keeps a Council Chamber for the Indians In which they Generally meet to make Treaties or Sign them this Chamber has a large Collection of Indian Curiosities Collected from all the Tribes up the Rivers from St. Louis Some of which are verry Curious and well worth seeing²⁰ Clarke appears to Be a verry Civil polite Gentleman alltho he must Be Much plagued By the Visits of Strangers; he politely Invited us to use his office to Do any writings that we wished and Said the Door was allways open at an [30] Early hour in the morning we Could he Said use his paper Maps & to ascertain the Situation

¹⁹Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, owned a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay company. The North West company, also a British company, had after the close of the war of 1812 a number of trading posts in the Pacific Northwest and within the boundaries of the United States in the Great Lakes region. The act of Congress of 1816 requiring the licensing of foreign fur traders was a step toward a limitation of British influence. However, the British resisted American efforts at expanding the 49th parallel as the northern boundary, and in 1818 a ten-year period of joint occupancy of the Oregon region was arranged.

²⁰The Indian council chamber or museum of Indian curiosities which belonged to Governor Clark was located at 101 N. Main. Open to visitors, it was "handsomely arranged, and consisted of rich Indian dresses, ornaments, instruments of war, skins of different animals, minerals, fossils." *St. Louis Directory* (1821); Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 328.

of the Country; which was of some advantage to us for By his Maps which are well Laid Down we found Some Large Swamps which Saved us Some Riding as we had Intend[ed] visiting the Cape Garadia part of the Territory But found that it was Bounded on the South for 70 miles By an Impenetrable Marsh which Runs Near the Best Settlements in that part of the Territory

we Staid about St. Louis til the 13th we then Started for St. Charles the Road²¹ heads through Barrens for Several Miles in Sight of Some Handsome Settlements to our Right the Soil in these Barrens is good and of a Mollatto Couler But without water we Came on through Some Rich prarai which lyes a little Rowling with Some Springs of Cool water we Came on through praria & Barrens with Some fine Black oak Timber in the Barrens and passed Some Settlements of good Land with fine wheat and Corn we then Entered Land more Rowling with good Timber and some good Springs from St. Louis to this place is about 15 miles and the whole way there is Exellent Grass about waist high here we Entered heavy Timberd Land Rich as any Land in the world we Came on through this Land untill we arived at the Missouri River oposite to St. Charles we crossed over the River In a Boat Constructed of two Canoes Confined By pining two Inch plank on the Top of them so as to make a platform Sufitient to Carry wagons & horses the River here is about half a Mile over; and the Strangest and Most Turbalent Current In the world St. Charles the way we Came is from St. Louis about 20 miles But By water is about 50 Miles In the Bend to the Right of the Road we Came is Some fine flourishing Settlements of Rich Land and Rich farmers Land from St. Louis to St. Charles Is Selling from 8 to 12\$ pr Acre and no Doubt will Rapidly advance as this Settlement is so

²¹The condition of the road was bad, even though its various sections were county roads and were much traveled, as a new settler in Franklin complained that he had lost his way because of the numerous road forks and the scarcity of fingerboards—only two between St. Louis and the Boone's Lick region. The roads leading off through the settlements were generally more beaten than the direct one. *Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), July 23, 1819.

near and Convenient to Both places we put up with Dr. Willson²² who keeps a good house of Entertainment

on Sunday the 14th we Rode Down to the Mawmills [Mamelles] a point of Land [31] about 2½ miles East of St. Charles this point To the Extreme East End of the Dividing Ridge of high Land Between the Missouri & Missisipia which Make out like the Breasts of a Woman and To the Bottom which is a prairie Extending In front about 8 or 10 Miles to the Missisipia River and on the Left or North 5 or 6 miles to the Same from this pount we Could See the Rock Bluff of the Missisipia In front which has the apearance of a Large Town with high Stone houses Extending along the River about 2 miles a little on the left a North west Course we Saw the Illionaise River Emtying Into the Missisipia with its Bluffs Coverd with Timber on the North Continues the Bluffs of the Missisipia River and By them we Could Trace the Course a North west Direction for Some Miles on our Right to the South is the Turbalent Missouri Rushing through its Rich Bottom of Timber Land which on the Side Next to us is about a mile wide along the River the Mawmill or Breasts is Saraunded Next to It in front and flanks with a Rich pararia of Intirely Level Land in which are a Number of Improvements which with the Beauty of the general View from this Spot makes one of the most Delightfull prospects In the world this point or points of Land is like all the Land in this Country Coverd with Luxuriant Grass which in Many places Is more than waist high Dr. Willson Inform'd us that a great propotion of this Bottom praria is publick Land and Not Surveyed But the whole of It Rich the Common field of St. Charles²³ lys in this Bottom Some of which has been Tended for 100 years and Still Rich the Soil of this

²²The Dr. Willson whom Bingham mentions probably was the Dr. Andrew Wilson who was practicing in St. Charles county in 1815 and 1818 and advertised his tavern at St. Charles in 1820. *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser* (St. Louis), September 23, 1815, June 17, 1816, October 2, 1818, June 9, 1819. He had been one of the commissioners of St. Charles. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1816.

²³St. Charles, like other French villages, had originally attached to it extensive common fields. Following the rapid increase of Americans, however, the city trustees disposed of the land by an ordinance of 1821, surveying the area for streets and lots for lease. Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, pp. 317-318.

praria or Bottom is from 15 to 30 feet Deep of a Black Rich Mould we Returned to St. Charles up the Ridge through some Timber Land which lvs a little Rowling the Timber is Scattering and Generally hickory the Land is good and Coverd with Grass [32] Just Back of St. Charles in the Town Commons are Some verry Good Springs Breaking out of the Banks of the hills and Runing Clear hansome little Streams the Land here is Rowling and Coverd with Hazel Bushes and is a Rich Soil along the Ridge North west of St. Charles for a Mile or two the Land is good and some good Springs with Scattering Black Oak and hickry Timber the Srubery where there is any is hazel & open wood where there is not Srubery verry thick the Grass Grows Luxuriantly—

St. Charles is Situated on the North Bank of the Missouri Between the Bluff or high Ground and the first Bank it is Built on one Street only which Takes up all the space Between the Shore and the Bluffs it Extends allong the Shore about a Mile It is Scatteringly Built and mostly in the old french Stile Exept some New houses Lately Erected By Americans It is at this time mostly Inhabited By Americans who have Comenced Improving the place Rappidly it has about 1200 Inhabitance²⁴ St. Charles has fine Clear Spring and well water and has the appearance of Being a healthy place.

on the 15th we went up the Dividing Ridge for Several Miles and Saw Some fine Barren Land Coverd with Black Jack and Luxuriant Grass through which we find there is some fine Springs of Good Water; we allso passed through Some Skirts of fine Black Oak & hickry Timber we again Returnd to St. Charles for the Night

on the 16th we went up along the Franklin Road²⁵ to the Small River Dardenne to Look at A Mill on it the Land

²⁴Other gazetteers bear out his estimate of the size of the town. According to Beck, "The houses which have recently been built, are of brick, and generally of a uniform style. At present it contains about 1200 inhabitants." *Ibid.*, p. 317.

²⁵The Franklin, or Boonalick road, in St. Charles county, expanded from the trail blazed by the pioneers who had Spanish grants in the area, to a trace from the Upper Commons of St. Charles to the Dardenne, probably as early as 1801. By 1805 it was designated the "highway to the Dardenne," in the St. Charles Record of Deeds. Gregg, Kate L., "The Boonalick Road in St. Charles County," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (July 1933), pp. 307-314.

is Generally Good But thinly Timberd till Near Dardenne Exept the Bottoms of the Missouri which are heavily Timberd and all Rich on the Road to Dardenne we Saw Some fine Springs of Good water in the Barrens the Grass is fine and Luxuriant they Informed us Every Boddy Mows as Much as they [33] please and I know they may for here is Grass Sufitent for any Number of Stock they Informed us the old Settlers Never have fed any of their Cattle Neather winter or Sumer when the winter Sets In they Drive their Cattle Into the Bottoms where In a Number of places is a quantity of Cain; But when the Country is thick Settled they will no Doubt have to Mow hay for their Cattle During the winter which may Be Easily Done; they Informd us that any Land that have Been yet Cultivated they have allways Reaped from 30 to 40 Bushels of wheat and from 50 to 75 or 80 Bushels of Corn pr Acre in up Land and the Bottom Land Generally produces from 80 to 100 Bushels Corn the up Land In the Barrens and prarias is a Mullatto Soil from one to five feet Deep unmixt with Either Sand or Gravel But apears to have a Soapy apearance; we vissitted a Mill on the Dardenne Belonging to Mr. Koontz a Dutchman²⁶ it is Badly Constructed and Worse kept But the Seat would Justify a good Mill Being Built the Stream in verry Dry weather In the fall gets too weak to Do much But for Nine months it might Do a Great Buissness as there is Sufitent water to Drive two pair of Stones if it was well Constructed around this Mill is Some Good Timber this Land here is not Rich But produces Good Crops Some of the people Informed us that they would not take Less than 10\$ pr Acre for their Land But that we Could Buy as Good Land or Better of those who wished to Sell for 4 or 5\$ there is Several Salt licks in this Neighborhood we Returnd to St. Charles In the afternoon

²⁶John Coontz, a German, established before 1803 two mills on his Dardenne tract which was crossed by the Boonslick road. After high water had damaged them, they were rebuilt in that year on the ford between his and his brother Nicholas' house. The latter, described in 1818 as "rough, wicked and yet hospitable," had established a tavern stand on the Boonslick road after the war of 1812. Since Nicholas was appointed one of the executors of his brother's estate, it seems probable that he is the Coontz to whom Bingham refers. *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 309.

[34] on the 17th we Staid at St. Charles In order to have Some Clothes washed; and I Concluded that I would not have time to Go much further up the Missouri and Be able to get home in time. Resolved to Return home By the way of Shawnee Town and west Tennessee; The Lands I have Seen in this Territory Being with other Advantages Suffitient Inducements to Cause me to move here In preference to any other Country I have yet Seen and In addition to what I have Seen I am Informd from Every Source that the Country farther up is Still more Rich and Desirable; If I do not Change my mind In favor of Some place that I may yet See Betwixt this and Augusta County Va. I Shall move my fammily to this Nighborhood Next Spring and more Effectually Explore the Territory

on the 18th of June we Returnd to St. Louis the Frieght of produce²⁷ from St. Louis to New Orleans is one Dollar pr hundred from New Orleans to St. Louis is four Dollars there are at this time Between 70 & 80 keel Boats & Barges at this place that Carry from 30 to 100 Tuns Burthen and one Steam Boat that Carries three hundred Tuns the keel Boats have Masts & Riging which they use to Great advantage in a fair wind I am Creditably Informed that there is an Extensive Stone Coale Bank on the Missouri River Below St. Charles and that there are a Number on the Illionaise River Sufitent to Suply the whole Country along the River with fuel—

on the 20th of June we left St. Louis and Recrossed the Missisipia River at the Lowr ferry the River here is Said to Be one Mile over we Came on through the American Bottom here we Saw some of the finest wheat I have Ever Seen Just turning yellow and Ripening verry Hansomely [35] we Acended from the Bottom which is here 6 miles wide and Enterd Some Rich Barrens thinly Timberd with Black Oak and has fine high Grass we Came on through Some Small Rich Rowling prararias Interspered with Some Skirts of Timber for 6 or 8 Miles to a Small Creek on which is Erected

²⁷According to the prices current in New Orleans at this time, such staples as flour was selling at \$7 per barrel, very prime tobacco for \$6.50 to \$7.50, beef at 12c, and pork at 14 to 16c. *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, June 12, 1818.

a Saw & Grist Mill here is good Timber on this Creek about a Mile from the Creek we Came to Bellville²⁸ the Seat of Justice of St. Clair County Bellville is a small Town Laid out about 3 years ago and is Situated about 15 miles East from St. Louis in a Neighborhood of Rich Timber Land and prommises to Be a place of Importance; through the Barrens and prararies to Day we have Seen Some of the Best wheat I have Ever seen In this Neighborhood a little to the South East has Lately Been Discovered a valluable Iron ore bank Near a good Stream with plenty of Timber in the Neighborhood the Bank is owned by S. Mitchel &c. who wish to Sell it to Some person that Understands and would Carry on the Iron Manufactory—from Bellville we Came on 7 miles through Rich Timber Land & Level and arived at Mr. Addams in the North west Corner of the 12 mile praria where we put up for the Night Mr. Addams has a prety Good farm and his Grain Looks well he has a Clover Lot that is verry good;

Sunday morning July 21st we Started Early and Came through the 12 mile praria²⁹ and a few miles of thinly Timbered Land; The 12 mile praria is generally Level and has a Number of Settlements around In the Edge of the Timber the Soil is Rich; we arived at the Okaw or Kaskaska River at Monvilles Ferry we Crossed the River in a flat[boat]; the River is here Navigable for Considerable Boats and is about 50 yds over we Stopped at Mr. Monvilles and fed our horse & got Breakfast; the water of the Okaw River appears Stagnant and it is fill'd verry much with putrid [36] Timber and Considerable Swamps & Lakes In the Timber Land Near It which I think must make its Neighborhood verry Subject to Ague's & Fevers; observed Several of Mr. Monvilles fammily was unwell and that a Doctor had Been Call'd In from Kaskaska 20 miles Distant from this—Yet

²⁸Belleville was in the center of Turkey hill settlement, eighteen miles southeast of St. Louis. Flint, *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 326. The county seat of St. Clair county, it contained by 1823 a courthouse, jail, academy, public library, and a population of about 500. Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 91.

²⁹The twelve mile prairie, extending through Effingham and Clay counties, was level and in many places wet. The Vincennes road crossed it in Clay county. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 303.

Such is the Infatuation of these people that they will all tell you that they have their helth verry well and it apared to Insult Mr Monville when I observed to him that I was afraid he had Settled In an unhealthy Situation and that I Should not like to Settle So Near So much Stagnant water; he Replied with Contempt, and Said that it was as healthy as any place and that he Did not wish to Be In a more healthy Situation; and at the Same time two of his family Down with a Billious fever—

from Monvilles we Came on through Timber Land about 2 miles In which are Several fammilies Newly Settled and Entered a Considerable praria through which we Came 7 miles here we found the flies to Be worse than we had Seen them³⁰ we then Entered Some thinly Timberd Good Land which lys a little Rowling here we Saw a good Spring we then Entered a Large prarai at the North Corner of which is a New Settler By the Name of Pattisons here we Stopped In order to Rest and feed our horses they having Been Verry much plagued with the flies; in this praria we Saw a Large Deer Lick; such as I have frequently Seen In prarias and Believe they are Common In Large prarias; while here I went as usual to See if our horses was Eating and found they Could not eat for the flies; And there Being Several horses hovering under the End of the Stable fighting the flies I Concluded that If I Drove away those horses that the flies would [37] probably Leave the Stable (which was verry open)

³⁰Bingham's plight reflects the commentary of Blane who traveled along the St. Louis road across Illinois in 1822: "These horseflies, which are larger than a hornet, are so exceedingly troublesome, that I have been informed by those who have often crossed the Prairie in summer, that they have been frequently obliged to dismount, light a fire, and stand in the smoke of it for hours. Horses . . . can with difficulty be induced to leave the smoke, for the flies . . . would, if the poor animals were left by themselves, soon torment them to death." Blane, William N., *An Excursion Through the United States and Canada, During the Years 1822-1823*, reprinted in Quaffe, M. M. (ed.), *Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 73. George Flower in his explorations in Illinois in 1817 described the prairie-fly as "a large insect, with brown body, green head, and transparent wings. These prairie-flies have a peculiar liking for light and sunshine. They attack both horses and cattle, and sting them dreadfully in the open prairie, but will not follow them into the ordinary shade of a wood or forest. They rarely, if ever, attack men. . . . This annoyance induces travelers, crossing the large prairies to travel by night and rest by day." *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, founded in 1817 and 1818*, by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, p. 65.

and follow them; I got them Started and two of them Ran towards the house as fast as possible and Jumped over the yard fence and one of them finding the Door open In Spite of two Boys with Sticks Rushed By them Into the house among the Small Children and it was with Considerable Dificulty that they Could Drive him out the flies were so Severe; I finding that our horses were not Relieved By Driving off the others we Concluded to Come on and with Some Dificulty we Got our Saddles on and away we Came in a kind of Canter as *tho* our horses were in a yellow Jackets Nest we passed through Some fine Timber Land a little Rowling with fine Springs we Came through the Corners of Some Rich prarias about 10 miles from Pattisons we Crossed a Small Creek where is a Small Settlement 2 miles from the Creek we arived at a Mr. Steels³¹ where we Stopped for the Night after having Traveld 40 miles Since morning and the Greater part of the Distance verry much plagued By the flies Mr. Steel has a good well in his yard and a hansome little farm in the Edge of a Small Rich praria we went to Bed Early But the Bed Bugs were So Plenty that we Could not Sleep; So about MidNight we Started and Came on through Timber Land for one Mile and through a prarai about 3 miles over we then Came through Timber Land about 4 miles and through a praria 6 miles over in this prarai the air is So Cool that we put on our Big Cots [coats] we again Enter Timber Land of post oak with a Swampy poor Looking Soil for about 4 miles and Stopped at a Mr. Flacks about SunRise—here we took a Nap fed our horse and got Breakfast from flacks we Came on 4 miles through a Rich praria to Buckaw Creek and Stopped at Mr. Bowls and finding them Neat Industerous Women we Concluded to Stay till the moon was up Next morning [38] Buckaw is a Small Creek at this time which Runs But verry little But on the East Bank *tho* high I Could Se Traces of water among the Timber which proves that it is Sometimes Navigable for any Sise Boats that Can Run in the western waters Mr.

³¹By 1833 a settlement and post office was established in Randolph county, sixteen miles east of Kaakaakia, on the Shawneetown road, and known as Steel's mill. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 298.

Bowls Inform'd us that In wet Seasons In April & May that it overflows the Timber Land on the East Side for Several miles that It Can Be Navigated By a Large perouge the moon Rose about 12 oClock at Night and about one in the Morning we Started and Came Through Some Timber Land Crossed a Creek and in about a Mile Entered the 9 mile praria through which we Came and Enterd Timber again for a few miles and Came to a Small River Call'd little Muddy here is a Settlement Newly Comenced we Crossed little Muddy on a Toll Bridge we Came on through Soom poor Timber Land for 12 miles we passed Some Good praria and Timber Land not so good and arived at Big Muddy³² through which we forded these two Streams Call'd little and Big Muddy are about 20 yds from Bank to Bank and at this time have But little water Tho; at some times they are so Deep as to Be Navigable for Large Boats the Land about these two Creeks Is Timbered and Marshy; from Big Muddy we Came on about a mile and enterd a Large praria here we got Breakfast and here is a Store and a Mill Call'd a Whong Mill I Examined It and find that it will Answer the purpose much Better than I Expected it is Constructed with an Upright Shaft with a Large Horrisontal wheel In the Same manner of the Common horse Mill; and Instead of Cogs has pins about 6 Inches Long and placed 3 or 4 feet Distance from Each other around the wheel; around the wheel on these pins is fixt a Band made of Raw hide; which Band Extends around the Spindle of the Mill; on which; Instead of a Common Trundle head is fixd a [39] Block with gutters Cut In it in the manner of the Common Aple Mill Block; which Gutters and Ridges prevent the Band from Sliping; the Stones are about three feet In Diameter; we were Informd By the Owner that two good horses would grind 20 or 30 Bushels of Corn in a Day; the work appears to Be Badly Executed; and I think If it was Done By a good workman it would grind much Better from the Whong Mill

³²The Big Muddy river, called by the French who discovered it, the *Riviere au Vase* or *Vaseux*, was navigable by small craft for seven months in the year, though only seventy yards wide at twenty-five miles from its mouth. Dana, Edmund, *Geographical Sketches on the Western Country: Designed for Emigrants and Settlers* . . . , p. 149.

we Came on through Some handsome Rich prairies & Some Skirts of fine Timber of Black Oak & Hickory these prairies has Some handsome Situations In them and a Number of them are Settled with New Settlers Some of which have good wells with fine Cool Clear water on the left of the Road after Coming about 7 or 8 Miles from the Mill we Came through a Skirt of fine Timber Land lying high and a little Rowling in which we found 2 or 3 pretty good Springs of free Stone water we then Entered Some Beautiful prairie which has Several handsome Eminences for Buildings and on Some of them are Cabins Built which no Doubt will Be Succeeded By Elegant Brick Buildings the Timber Land around this prairie is also Rich after Coming on Several Miles through this prairie and arrived at Mr. Garretts it Being very hot we Stopped and Rested our horses an hour we Started and Came on through Timber Land about 3 miles and arrived at Mr. McCreerys³³ where we Stopped for the Night here we got Bad water from a Branch that has Stopped Running which is the Case with all the Small Streams In this territory

we Started Early on the 24th we Started and Came on through Rich Timber Land with fine Oak and hickory &c But Bad water and none Except the Creeks which Did not Run and Appeared Stagnant till about one O'Clock when we arrived at an old Block house where is a good Spring and a Neat Looking Cabin we after getting a [40] good Drink of water Came on to the United State Salt works³⁴ after passing Several parts of the Establishments and Crossing the Saline River twice onst in a flat and Next forded through It we

³³McCreery's settlement in Franklin county was ten miles east of Frankfort, Illinois, in a timbered tract of country. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, p. 249.

³⁴The United States salt works were located twelve miles from Shawneetown. Flint, *The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 327-328. The salt springs in the vicinity of Saline creek were ceded by the Indians in a treaty with the United States in 1803. At this time they were leased by the federal government but when Illinois became a state they were granted to it. There were by 1819 seven furnaces in operation. The original reservation at these salines comprised 92,100 acres of woodland, and was rented at \$10,000 per annum. James, Edwin, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years, 1819, 1820 . . . under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long*, Vol. I, and Evans, Estwick, *A Pedestrian Tour of Four Thousand Miles Through the Western States and Territories, during the Winter and Spring of 1818*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1848*, Vol. XIV, pp. 82-83 fn., Vol. VIII, p. 283 fn.

Stopped for the Night on the Bank of the River; the Saline River is about 60 or 70 yds over and Is Navigable for Boats of 20 or 30 Tons Burthen In Common; at these Salt works they Convey the water to the Timber By pipes under ground and By forced pumps Convey it over hills for Several Miles Major Tayler³⁵ who has Rented half the Establishment Informed me that at these works was made Annually about one hundred and twenty thousand Bushels of Salt which they Sell at 75 Cents pr Bushel at the works which is the price limited By Government the Land about the Salt works is hilley and poor in this Neaghorhood is a Large Boddy of Stone Coal; Btween the Crossings of the Saline we passed a Sulpher Spring on our Right allso a Spring Impregnated with Salt and Magnetia; Early on the 25 we Came on through hilley Land & Saw Some good Springs for 6 or 7 miles and then Entered the Bottoms of the Ohio River

we Came on about a mile through the Bottoms which is Rich and lys Low and arived at Shawnae Town³⁶ Situated on the west Bank of the Ohio River about 8 miles Below the mouth of the Wabash River the River Bank and the Bottom on which the Town is Built lies so low that It frequently over flows So that the people Can go from one house to the other In Canoes and Some years ago the whole Town was wash'd away which at that Time Consisted of about 100 houses It has about that Number now and has a Bank Call'd

³⁵Major I. Tayler rented two of the three wells in operation at the salines near Shawneetown. James, *Account of an Expedition . . . under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1848*, Vol. XIV, p. 82.

³⁶Shawneetown, situated on the main route from the southern states to St. Louis and also the port for the salt works on Saline creek, had a business out of proportion to its permanent settlement in 1817 of about thirty log houses, a log bank and the land office. Fearon, Henry B., *Sketches of America, A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America . . .*, p. 258. Woods commented on the town in 1819 as "rather unhealthy," due to its "being surrounded by low land, that is liable to be inundated." Woods, John, *Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country, United States*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1848*, Vol. X, p. 254. George Flower was no more complimentary in 1818: "a poor village it was, of log-cabins and a few light frame-houses. It was occasionally subject to deep inundations from the floods of the Ohio River." *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois*, p. 108.

the Illionaise Bank; there is also a Land office Kept here for this District;³⁷

on the 26th after Breakfast we Crossed the Ohio River (which is here about three fourths of a mile over) and Landed In Kentucky In Union County we Came up the River on its [41] Bank 4 or 5 miles through verry Rich Bottom But all Subject to Inundation which Renders It useless Exept for Timber we then Came a Cross the Bottom to the South about 3 miles and the water Some times Reach[es] this Distance from the Bank Some where Near this we Saw a flat Bottom Boat lying In the Edge of the Road that had Been floated from the River In time of high water here we ascended the high Land which is above the Level of the Bottom about 50 or 60 feet with a gradual Rise we Came on over pretty good Land lying a little Rowling and passed Some prettey good Small farms about 7 or 8 miles to Morganfield³⁸ the Seat of Justice for Union County this is a Small Town But appears to Be Improving and is a New place; here we Stopped and Concluded to Stay and Look at the Land In this Neighborhood

on the 27th we went Round for Several Miles Round the Town and find that the Land lies well and heavy Timberd and of a good Quallity But Badly waterd Exept a few Springs In and about Town; In this Nighborhood Good Land with Small Improvements Can Be Bought for 5 or 6\$ and unimproved Land Can Be Bought at 3 or 4\$ of an Exellent quallity; I think Lands will no Doubt Rise in this Nighborhood Briskly as Morganfield is within 8 or 10 miles of the Ohio River in a Nieghborhood of Good Land; and from this place Tbacio Can Be Shiped to New Orleans for 10\$ pr hogshead;

on the 28th we Started Early in the morning and Came through Some thin Land along a Ridge to the South East

³⁷As an indication of the volume of business at the local land office, 72,384 acres of public land were sold in 1817 as compared with 216,315 acres sold in 1818 at that office, almost twice as much as the other two land offices at Edwardsville and Kaskaskia combined. Boggess, Arthur C., *The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830*, p. 105.

³⁸Morganfield, on the Ohio below Louisville, was incorporated in 1812; by 1846 it had a population of only 400. Collins, Lewis, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 539.

of Morgan field passed Robertsons Salt works in a Corner of Henderson County Between the Salt works and Morgan-field we passed the Sulpher Springs Belonging to Lewis or Cass [county] which is a verry handsome Situation there are Several Beautifull Emminances Near the Springs for Building the water Runs Bold and is verry Strong one of them are white Sulpher [42] the Land about the Springs are of a Midling quallity; the Land about Robertsons Salt works is verry poor the Salt works apears to Be Badly managed or are not worth Improving; we Came on through a part of Hopkins County the Land along the Road is thin and Badly waterd we are tol'd the Land is Better 4 or 5 miles from the Road on Each Side Land is Selling from 3 to 5\$ we Enterd Christian County and in a few miles we Came into Barren Land it apears poor But we were Inform'd is verry productive

we arived at Hopkinsville on the 30th about 9 oClock the Land Near this place is Rich and Some fine Timber it Sells from 10 to 20\$ pr acre Hopkinsville is the Seat of Justice for Christian County It is a flourishing place Built principally of Brick we Came on and Near the Town we Crossed little Red River on a Bridge passed through good Barren Land; Some fine farms; Corn apears Better here than any place I have Seen; But they have had a fine Season here and here is Some Good farmers from Virginia as we Came on we Saw Several Sink hole Springs as they are here Call'd the water In them is good and lime Stone this Discription of Springs are Common In this part of Kentucky and the Chain of water may Be Trace'd for miles By the Sinks in the Ground and in Many places they may Be open'd with a Small Expence from Hopkinsville we Came on 16 miles to Lewis Levels who has a Beautiful plantation on a handsome Emminane[eminence] the Land from Hopkinsville to this place is Selling from 10 to 20\$ and lies well and is verry productive for Tobacco & Corn and pretty good for wheat

July the 1st we Started with a Mr. Lynes of Clarksville Tennessee [43] for that place; we Came on through the Barrens and find the Land and farms good Timber and

water not plenty tho In the Barrens is Lately Grown up a Great Number of Black Oak Saplings which Serve for fewel and Some are Large Enough for Rails in these Barrens is fine Range for Cattle we Stopped at Spring Creek Just in the Edge of the State of Tennessee In Montgomery County Spring Creek is a handsome Clear Creek which Empties Into Red River we Stopped on the Creek at Mr Bryan Whitfields where we Staid all Day Looked over his Land and Capt Sherman one of my Company partly Bargained for It we found It to Be pretty good Land

on the 2nd we went from Whitfields to Clarksville³⁹ about 1 ½ miles from Clarksville we Crossd Red River It is about 60 yds over and is Navigable In Common water for flat Boats of 20 Tun from Whitfields to Clarksville is about 7 miles the Land from Whitfields to Clarksville is not Rich But pretty good Land and well Timberd In Common and Is Selling from 6 to 10\$ pr Acre Clarksville is on the North Bank of Bluff of Cumberland River it apears to Be a flourishing place it is a place of Depot for Several Counties In Kentucky for the Shipments of flour & Tabacco; The Cumberland River at this place is about 200 yds over and is Navigable at all times for Boats of 20 or 30 Tuns Burthen Clarksville is the County Seat of Montgomery County; In the afternoon we Returnd to Mr. Whitfields and in the morning Capt. Sherman Bought Mr Whitfields Estate Mills & \$11,000 for 1,000 Acres of Land; about 10 oClock we Started from Mr. Whitfields up Spring Creek Towards Port Royal we Came through a Tract of Land Belonging to a Mr. White It Contains 1000 Acres and is good Barrens it is for Sale at about 8 or 10\$ pr acre [44] It has a good Mill Seat and a Seat for a Distillery this is a fine Country about this for Tabacco It Looks fine and is the principle Staple of this part of the Country It is Shiped from Clarksville to New Orleans at 75 Cents pr 100 lbs Cattle & Hogs

³⁹Clarksville was one of the oldest settlements of the Cumberland, having first been occupied in 1780 by the Renfroe and Turpin families. At the mouth of the Red river and forty-five miles northwest of Nashville, by 1804 it contained a courthouse and jail and early became a post town. Morse, Jedidiah, *American Gazetteer* (1804); Michaux, Andre, *Journal of Travels Into Kentucky, 1793-1796*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. III, p. 84.

are plenty pork Sells at 4\$ & Beef at 3\$ pr 100 lbs we Came on Several miles through good Barren Land But no water we then Enterd Timber Land Near Red River here we found a good Spring of Clear Cold water in the Bluff of the River a little to the Right of the Road we Came on through Timber Land Broken and good Soil about 3 miles and Crossed Red River and arived at Port Royal a Small Villiage Rather on the Decline on the South Bank of Red River the River here is about 20 yds over from Port Royal we Came on about 3 miles to a Mr. Wests where we Stopped for the Night; about Mid Night I awaked and found I had the Bold Hives or Heat verry Bad which made me verry Sick

Early on the 4th we Started; I am Still verry unwell and feel verry little like Travelling; we came on over high Chesnut Ridges of poor Land 8 miles to Mr. Murphies here we Stopped for Breakfast I Still feel unwell and Eat But little; we Came on about 15 miles through the Same kind of Land and a verry Hot Sun (I am verry unwell) we Stopped at Mr Kings Soon after we Stopped Came on a verry Sivere thunder Gust and we Concluded to Stay till morning; we met to Day a number of the Volunteers of this and the Counties ajoining Returning from Jacksons Campain against the Semnole Indians⁴⁰ they were all Sober and Orderly alltho they are Discharged and have Reserved their wages this Day In Nashville; we are here Inform'd that the Land we have Traveld over Between Port Royal and this place is Selling from 4 to 6\$ pr acre; Allso that within five or six miles from the Road on Either Side the Land was good and Sells for about 10\$ pr acre;

on the 5th in [45] the morning we Got up Early and Started I feel pretty well this morning; we Got our Breakfast and Started for Nashville which from Kings is about 12 miles we Came Down a Steep Long hill to a Small Creek

⁴⁰The volunteers from Tennessee who served in the first Seminole war had suffered "greatly from hunger, fatigue, and want of clothing, many of them being barefooted," according to the report by Colonel Williamson. No one had died "with ordinary sickness," but one had been killed in battle and one by an accident. The scarcity of forage and the Florida swamps had reduced more than half of the colonel's troops to footsoldiers. *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, June 19, 1818.

Down which we Travel'd Several miles the Hills Came verry Near to the Creek and are Steep the Bottoms are verry Narrow; we arived at another Small Creek which Runs Into this from the west here the Bottoms widen and the Hills are not so high nor Steep the Land is Rich we passed a verry Hansome Farm on our Right Belonging to Col. Stump Son of the Old Stump the Cellebrated Dutch Indian Killer who was one of the first Settlers of this State;⁴¹ we Came on By the old mans Town & old Mill in about a mile or two we passed Christopher Stump's Mills and Rope walks The fammily of Stumps have acumalated a Greatdeal of verry Valluable property In this Nieghborhood their Lands are Rich and well Improved Corn in this Nieghborhood is fine from Christopher Stumps we Came on a Mile or two over Rough Rich limestone Land unto Mogavats Ferry⁴² on the Cumberland River about 2 miles Below Nashville we Cross'd the River which is Navigable for Boats of 20 or 30 Tuns at all times and Much Larger at Common water we Came on up the River to Nashville through Rich Bottoms and well Timberd It all belongs to Mr. Mcgavat and Near Nashville he has a Large Rich farm and a large field of fine Corn;

Nashville is Situated on the Southwest Side of the Cumberland River on a Rock Bluff it is well Built principally of Brick and Being on a high Rounding Bluff it has a hansome apearance at a Distance Nashville has a population of about 5,000 Inhabitance and is Growing Rapidly on the South west of Nashville about 400 yds Distance is a hansome Emminance that falls off on all sides gradually on the Top of this Emminance [46] which Overlooks Nashville

⁴¹Bingham is evidently referring to "Old Man" Frederick Stumps, a German, who early made improvements on White creek. His flight of three miles to Eaton's station with Indian pursuers close at his heels was one of the traditions of the settlement. Michaux stated, January 19, 1796, that Stump was living five miles from Nashville. Michaux, Andre, *Journal of Travels Into Kentucky, 1793-1796*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. III, p. 85.

⁴²A 960 acre tract of land on the south bank of the river in the vicinity of Nashville, owned by James McGavock, was platted in 1786 by David McGavock. Marshall, Park, "The Topographical Beginnings of Nashville," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March 1916), p. 31.

and all the Sarounding Country Near It on the Top is an Elligant Building the Dwelling of Mr. Campbell our present Minnister to Rusia;⁴⁸ The frieght of produce from this to New Orleans is one Dollar pr hundred and from New Orleans up is four Dollars Land around Nashville is Selling any where within 8 or 10 miles at from 40 to 80\$ It is a limestone Country and well waterd .

on the 6th after Breakfast we Came on from Nashville to the East over Rich hilley Land with fine farms well waterd and Elligant Brick Buildings about 3 miles we Crossed a Creek here is a Grist & sawmill and a Large Spring Breaking out of a Limestone Bluff we Came on over Rough Rich Limestone Land about 6 miles Saw Some fine farms and arived at Clover Bottom on Stoner River this is a fine piece of Bottom we Crossed the River which is at this time fordable But is Navigable for Boats it is here about 60 yds over we Travel'd over high hilley Rich limestone Land to lick Creek about 5 or 6 miles in this Creek is a white Sulpher Spring which is Raised above the Surface of the water By a Gum it is Bold and verry Strong we Came on to another Small Creek here the Land is more Level But not quite so Rich tho it is verry good from Nashville to this place Land is Selling from 10 to 60\$ pr Acre we Came on 6 or 7 miles over good Land lying well here farms Can Be Bought from 6 to 10\$ pr acre that will produce from 40 to 50 Bushels Corn it will produce fine Tobacco & Oats But not so Good for wheat It Being too far South and the fogs and hot Sun Give it the Rust from Nashville to this a great part of the fences and wooden houses are Built of Cedar which Grows In abundance on the Land where the limestone Comes Near the Surface we Came on over high hilley Land

⁴⁸George Washington Campbell, born in Scotland, was prominent in national life: minister to Russia under Monroe, he had been secretary of the treasury in Madison's cabinet, one of the first justices of the state supreme court, and later served on the French claims commission.

for Several Miles and passed the Campbell Accadamy⁴⁴ [47] Situated on the Right of the Road in the woods on the Top of a high hill the Dividing Ridge Between two Level Tracts of Country the Timber on these hills is principally Mulberry & walnut we were Informed that we are in Willson County we Descended from the Accademy into the Level Rich Land Limestone and a great Cedar Groth; we Came on Several Miles and arived at Lebanon the Seat of Justice for Willson County It is Situated 30 miles East of Nashville here we Stopped for the Night we have Seen as we Came on to Day some of the finest springs of water I have Ever Seen the Country around this Level and Limestone Cedar Land it is selling Near this place from 8 to 20\$ pr acre Corn in the fall is worth about one Dollar pr Barrel and in the Sumer about 1,50 Cents Tobacco is worth at this Time about 6\$ pr hundred Lebanon is a New place of about 500 Inhabitance on the 7th we Started Early and Came on 3 or 4 miles over Level Rich Limestone Land with ash & Cedar Timber; we then Entered hilly Land with But little Cedar and Came on about 9 miles to Major Andersons the Land in these hills is heavy Timberd with Oak ash and poplor But verry Rough and Rocky the undergroth is mostly Black Haw and hazel it is pretty well waterd with springs and at this time there is Some hansome small Creeks of Clear water on one of which is an Ill Constructed Mill we were Informed that In Dry Seasons the most of these Creeks went Dry from Andersons we Came on over hilly limstone Land about 6 miles the Timber along here is Birch and poplor mixt with Wallnut and Ash we Saw Some fine Springs But the Land is verry Rocky In places—Land is Selling off the Road at from 4 to 6\$ we Came on 3 miles farther over the same kind of land and arived at the Cainey fork of Cumberland a

⁴⁴By an act of 1806, Congress had set aside 100,000 acres of public lands in Tennessee for the use of academies, one to be established in each county. The act, the result of a tri-partite agreement among the federal government, North Carolina, and Tennessee, settled the right of registration in unappropriated lands in Tennessee. Unfortunately, the tracts of land for the benefit of academies were located in the less valuable section south of French Broad and the Holston rivers, cutting the value of the grant in half. Whitaker, A. P., "The Public School System of Tennessee, 1834-1860," *Tennessees Historical Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March 1916), pp. 1-2.

Creek Runing from the South Into Cumberland River it is about 60 yds over and fordable at this time we then Entered after [48] the Creek Rough hilly Land and poor and ascended the Dividing Ridge Betwixt Caney fork and Cumberland this Ridge is verry high and Narraw as we ascended the west End we Saw a quantity of Cane we Came on on [to?] the Top of this Narraw Crooked & knoby Ridge and passed Several Cabbins and about 10 miles we arived at Col. Raulstons here we Stopped for the Night

on the 8th we Started Early and Continued along the Ridge about 3 miles and Descended the East end this Ridge is limestone Gravelly Land verry heavily Timberd and Decends on Each Side verry Steep the Top along the Road is generally not more than 30 yds wide and the Land poor the Land after we left the Ridge is well Timberd But Continues poor we Saw some good Springs for Several miles we then Came on through the white plains which is 4 miles over the Land is Barren and verry poor Coarse white Sand at the East Side of the plains we Stopped and got Dinner at Mrs. Quarles the widow of Major Quarles of Virginia who was Murderd In the white plains 2 or three years ago here we Began to assend the Cumberland Mountains Gradually we Came on over Mountaineous Rocky Chesnut Land about 10 miles and Stopped for the Night at Mr Walkers During the Night Came on a Tremendeous thunder Gust and wind and our Elevated Situation Gave the wind Great power however In an hour or two It Ceased having Done no Material Injury Near us;

on the 9th Early in the Morning we Started and Came on through⁴⁵....Mountain over verry poor land...foundation is a Sand Rock Just under....and some places it Shows above....in all most all places so....they Cant Dig Deep....posts for a garden fence.... on the 10th we...Came on about 2 miles...to Ascend Spencers Hill a part [of the] Cumberland Mountains it took its...By a man of the Name of Spencer [bei]ng kill'd under a Rock on this hill some Seasons ago By the Indians⁴⁶ the hill is [stee]p and the Land

⁴⁵The remaining pages of the diary are torn and several are missing.

⁴⁶Thomas Sharp Spencer was killed at Spencer's hill, Van Buren county, Tennessee. Cisco, Jay G., *Historic Sumner County, Tennessee*, p. 24

is poor the Timber Chesnut we Came on 10 or 11 miles from the Crab Orchard passing the Turnpike gate and Stopped at Major Hayleys; The Sequatsy[Sequatchee] Valley lyes about 20 miles to the South of this Road through the Mountains; and the people who live along the Road get their Suplies of Grain from the Valley as But few of them pretend to Raise any themselves the Land is so ve[r]ry.... Rough; alltho there are... along the Road for.... [Enter] ainment for.... poor Near the River.... is some pretty good up[land] the Bottoms apear to Be Rich.....

(THE END)

THE STEAMBOAT, A PLAYGROUND FOR ST. LOUIS IN THE FIFTIES

BY LAURA LANGEHENNIG¹

In these days of rapid locomotion it is hard to believe that less than a century ago the Mississippi was one of the speedways of this country. Today we think of speed in terms of streamlined train and airplane but in the mid-nineteenth century the steamboat was the agent. During those glorious days of boating the Mississippi played a most important and often overlooked role in the entertainment of St. Louisans. Today the excursion steamer, *Admiral*, the showboat, *Goldenrod*, and the packet, *Golden Eagle*, are still reminders of some of the river pastimes of the past century. To St. Louisans this river at their very door afforded them an opportunity to enjoy beautiful scenery, interesting tours, delightful excursions, moonlight dancing parties, floating theaters, and thrilling races, impossible without the Mississippi.

It was Catlin, the well-known artist of American Indian life, who made St. Louis vacationists conscious of the beauty of the upper Mississippi and named the suggested excursion, "the fashionable tour."² In order to be considered "traveled" at that time it was necessary to visit the picturesque spots along the upper Mississippi or "glimpse especially the beauties of St. Anthony falls."³

Although only a comparatively few St. Louisans were privileged to make such extensive tours, many were able to visit nearby places and to enjoy the natural beauty of the Mississippi in their own locality. Short excursions were made on Sundays and holidays but the most popular ones were on

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²Blegen, Theodore C., "The Fashionable Tour' on the Upper Mississippi," *Minnesota History*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (December 1939), pp. 378-379.

³Krueger, Lillian, "Social Life in Wisconsin, Pre-Territorial through the Mid-Sixties," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. XXII, (June 1939), p. 406.

the fourth of July. Some of the sites visited were Portage des Sioux, Long lake, Rhodes point, Wood river, Quincy, Indian cave, Sulphur springs, Plateau rock, and Selma, but the two favorite places were Alton and Jefferson barracks, a military post since 1826.

Sometimes the steamer landed and the pleasure seekers had a chance to enjoy a barbecue,⁴ a walk through the woods,⁵ a picnic or a dance,⁶ or a brief visit to the Jefferson barracks' grounds or the prison at Alton.⁷ These holiday excursions became so popular that on Independence day 1859, over five thousand people made short trips and more would have gone if boats had been available.⁸

On warm summer evenings city dwellers who had suffered from the 100-degree heat again turned to the river for relief and pastime which only a moonlight excursion with a fine river breeze could give.⁹ The customary schedule for the boats was to leave in the early evening and return about daylight the following morning.¹⁰ Once on board the captains provided a delicious collation, and dancing, especially the cotillion kept everything lively until the early morning hours.¹¹ Generally the fare, supper included, was one dollar.¹²

Through the picturesque scenes of the Mississippi which have lived in fiction, we know the pleasures which centered around the showboat. It is true the showboat was often a novelty since its entertainment or circus was a diversion from the well-established theater and circus tent. During the fifties St. Louisans became well acquainted with Spalding and Rogers, *Floating Palace* and its towing steamer, the *James Raymond*. The *Floating Palace* according to its publicity department surpassed all American theaters of its day in elegance, spaciousness, and comfort: there were 7500 square feet in the dress circle, almost 4000 square feet in the gallery, and about 2000

⁴*Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), July 3, 1853.

⁵*Ibid.*, July 2, 1855.

⁶*Ibid.*, June 19, 1856.

⁷*Ibid.*, July 3, 1856.

⁸*Ibid.*, July 6, 1859.

⁹*Ibid.*, August 14, 10, 1853.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, June 17, 1853.

¹¹*Ibid.*, July 28, 1852.

¹²*Ibid.*, July 19, 1853; July 15, 1856.

square feet in the ring. For comparison, the St. Charles theater of New Orleans, the second largest theater in the United States in the early fifties, had only 5000 square feet in the dress circle. The *Palace* offered the best in comfort, too, for it had eleven hundred arm chairs, five hundred cushioned settees, and nine hundred gallery seats.¹³ An unusual attraction was a museum which contained among its 100,000 curiosities, hundreds of Indian war weapons, many ancient relics from Egypt, Greece, and Rome, numerous oil paintings, and a complete zoological exhibition of wild and rare animals living in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America including an elephant, a giraffe, and a white polar bear.¹⁴

August 17, 1852, the *Floating Palace* arrived at St. Louis and gave several circus performances, to be followed by a return trip that same month¹⁵ and another the following year.¹⁶ In August 1856 an entertainment, given in the concert-room of the *James Raymond* immediately after the exhibition on the *Palace*, consisted of "Ethiopian melodies," and fancy and comic dancing,¹⁷ the usual program of the minstrel show.

Two years later the *James Raymond* brought the show up the Mississippi without the *Palace*, for this time the circus replaced the theatrical troupe at the Woods' theater.¹⁸ The next season this company used a pavilion at Seventh and Market streets.¹⁹ Its theatrical career was cut short by the Civil war when the *Floating Palace* was seized by the Confederate forces and became a military hospital.²⁰

The thrilling and exciting stories told about steamboat racing on the Mississippi may have led many to believe that racing was a sport in which the majority of the Mississippi boats indulged. This was not true and certainly not on the upper river where there was little real racing and never such a

¹³*Ibid.*, August 9, 10, 1852.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, August 4, 1856.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, August 14, 17, 30, 1852.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, July 14, 15, 1853.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, August 4, 1856.

¹⁸*Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), April 1, 1858.

¹⁹*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 25, 29, 1859.

²⁰May, Earl, *The Circus from Rome to Ringling*, p. 78.

contest as the one between the *Robert E. Lee* and the *Natches*.²¹ It is a fact, however, that whenever two boats were going in the same direction a contest resulted, as brief spurts of speed, not actual races. The steamer nevertheless that ran away from other boats was privileged to show that she was champion by carrying a big broom on her pilot house.²² The *Altoona* held the record from St. Louis to Alton of twenty-five miles in one hour and ten minutes.²³ In 1858 the packet *Americus* received a pair of horns for making the quickest trip from St. Louis to Peoria and back,²⁴ and the following year the *Hannibal City* established a new time for the run from St. Louis to Keokuk but this was broken in a few weeks by the *City of Louisiana*.²⁵

A St. Louis boat, the *Die Vernon*, did take part in an actual race on the upper Mississippi while on a pleasure trip to St. Paul in June 1853. Captain Harris of the *West Newton* was waiting at Galena to race it into St. Paul and in the meantime he had bought up all the tar and rosin in Galena and all the wood for 150 miles up the river was pledged to be sold only to him. The *Die Vernon* led into Dubuque but it had to land there and so the *West Newton* passed up the river. After midnight one of the passengers of the St. Louis boat took charge of the twenty-five firemen and gave them "whiskey toddies to assist them in making steam" but the only extra fuel on the boat was a barrel of old butter that the steward had bought for soap grease.

The next morning the Galena packet was forced to land or be passed underway by her rival. By this time the *Die Vernon* was nearly out of fuel but the first wood-boat wanted the impossible sum of ten dollars a cord. Shortly afterward two wood-boats sold the captain twenty-five tons and the owner of the boats admitted that Captain Roberts of the *Greek Slave*,

²¹Merrick, George B., *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi, The Recollections of a Steamboat Pilot from 1854 to 1863*, p. 143.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 144-148.

²³This article by William Cairncross appeared in George Merrick's "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi," *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington) 1913-1920. Merrick's collection is in a scrapbook in the library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

²⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 4, 1858.

²⁵*Ibid.*, June 9, 23, 1858.

"a bitter enemy of Captain Harris", had given him a barrel of flour to help the St. Louis packet. Before daylight the *Die Vernon* was safely tied up at St. Paul. Several hours later the *West Newton* came in but Captain Harris never left his boat. The *Die Vernon* had made a record of "eighty-four hours counting all stops from St. Louis to St. Paul."²⁶

That Sunday afternoon when the celebrating *Die Vernon* started home, the *Nominee*, owned by Orrin Smith, "a strict Sabbath observer," began to race it.²⁷ Captain Moorhouse, a passenger, jokingly remarked to Captain Fords of the *Die Vernon*, "I'll bet you a basket of champagne you can't catch her" and another race was on but the *Nominee* was the first into Dubuque.²⁸

As a whole, the pleasures of the Mississippi were the kind which could be best enjoyed in warm weather but very cold days also brought their fun. During "big freezes" everyone had a chance to indulge in some winter sport on the ice. January 17, 1854, the Mississippi froze over completely and since it was unlikely that it might happen again soon, ideas for utilizing it for sport flourished. One man who kept a boarding and drinking house on the levee determined to extend the liquid half of his business: he bought a tent, pitched it midway between St. Louis and the Illinois shore, and stocked it with liquor. Towards evening, when he found the business was paying well, he even decided to add a ten-pin alley.

The competitive spirit of another individual who kept a coffee house on the levee was stirred by such success. Taking some sheets, coverlets, and old clothes, and with the help of some hoop-poles fastened in the ice, he had a tent rigged up and in full operation before night. These whiskey shops and ten-pin alleys increased in number until there were about seven.²⁹ In a few days a line of three or four one-horse packet-

²⁶John Robert's account of this special trip of the *Die Vernon* was first published in the *Minneapolis Journal* and then reproduced in Merrick's account, *Saturday Evening Post*, (Burlington), August 15, 1914; Peterson, Walter, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, the Waterway to Iowa*, pp. 267-269.

²⁷Peterson, Walter, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*, pp. 269-270.

²⁸Robert, "Special Trip of the *Die Vernon*," in Merrick's "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi," *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), August 15, 1914.

²⁹*Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, January 18, 20, 1854.

sleighs were running all day, leaving the left side of the river every fifteen minutes and charging any price from five to fifty cents per person.³⁰

Finally the ice began to break and February 2 the *Jeannie Deans* started out to make her first attempt at opening up the river. The *Jeannie* had on board about thirty curious passengers who had expected that in an hour or two the entire gorge would be broken. But when the *Jeannie* did not succeed after long delay, ten or twelve men, steamboat captains and clerks, started on the ice for the Illinois shore. About three-quarters of the way two men fell through, but they managed to get out without broken bones and the party finally reached the ferry flats tired, wet, thirsty, and hungry. That same night a large "iceberg" invaded the port, sank three boats, and damaged nine other steamers.³¹

Two years later the river closed about New Year's day and remained so until March. By January 7 the "excitement-loving inhabitants" of St. Louis began emigrating to the other shore. Skaters were very numerous on a cleared space on the ice extending about a mile in length close to the Illinois side. That afternoon the scene became "extremely spirited" and especially so near the tents where refreshments were served. The people who were fond of such amusement and tired of "dry" Sundays in St. Louis were quoted as wishing that the river would be frozen all year so they could take a walk on the ice every Sunday.³²

The next Sunday between ten and fifteen thousand crossed the frozen river. At the foot of Chestnut street a shore bridge had been constructed and a small tariff was charged vehicles but foot passengers were allowed to go over without payment. At the end of the bridge on the ice a painted board was erected which read "Mississippi avenue," the most popular thoroughfare in the city that day. Skating and ball-playing were very popular as well as the ten or fifteen refreshment tents. Boys were stationed at the doors of these tents crying, "Whiskey, Tom and Jerry, and Lemonade." At other stands

³⁰*Ibid.*, January 23, 1854.

³¹*Ibid.*, February 3, 1854.

³²*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 7, 1856; March 4, 1856.

oysters, coffee and cake, apples, oranges, and peanuts were displayed. Roulette and faro tables were also in operation. By January 22 another bridge was constructed and a one-way tariff was levied. About this time one of the pleasure groups built a De Soto monument of ice, but it did not last long because some mischievous boys and idle men destroyed it.³³

During the third "big freeze" of the fifties which took place the next year, two bridges were built, one at the foot of Washington avenue and the other at Market street. Skating was the favorite sport for men and boys, while tents selling intoxicating beverages, other liquids, and foods were common along the road which crossed at Washington avenue.³⁴

The river was a scene of much fun and frolic during the "big freezes", but the levee was always "a gay, noisy, bustling place" when the passengers, as well as the deck hands, hurried to get everything aboard. Mingled with the whistling of the steamboats could be heard the music of the little fiddlers, tambourine girls, organ grinders, and bagpipe performers, and the calls of the apple and orange girls, shirt women, cigar and book-sellers, little negro boiler cleaners, lung testers and blowhards, and the "Bowery boy" or boot black.³⁵ But the most enjoyable note of all amid this confusion was the music and songs of the negro crew bands and roustabouts.³⁶ However, when the *Amazon* came into port with her calliope playing, she "charmed the bustle and tumult which generally prevailed on the levee into stillness." Draymen, store-keepers, hackmen, and all others nearby left their work and hurried to the steamer to inspect this melodious instrument.³⁷

Special events in which steamboats played a very important part varied from Sunday School picnics to exhibitions of pugilism, and included all kinds of civic and social celebrations. An exhibition of fisticuffs between "Jim Burns, a New Orleans

³³*Ibid.*, January 14, 22, 24, 1856.

³⁴*Ibid.*, January 23, 24, 26, 1857.

³⁵Lange, Dena, "A History of St. Louis, A City Surrounded by the United States," *Public School Messenger*, (St. Louis, Vol. XXIX, No. 2), September 30, 1931; *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 30, 1857.

³⁶Van Nort, E. C., "A Half Century of Glorious Adventure on the Mississippi," *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis), February 28, 1932.

³⁷*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 28, 1856.

bully, and Michael alias Shanghai Conner, a bruiser" of St. Louis took place on Eagle island a few miles above Alton. The steamers *Elvira* and *Henrietta* were chartered by the friends of the prizefighters. No effort was put forth by the police to spoil the fun but a few days later the boats were seized by the federal marshall for carrying passengers without a license.³⁸

Groups of fishermen even chartered boats to enjoy their sport. Such was the case when the "king fisherman" and fifty-six other members of the old St. Louis fishing club took a trip on the *T. L. McGill* to Harlow's landing and Murdock's lake.³⁹

Toward the top of the list of elaborate steamboat parties were those honoring river captains especially when presenting a pair of elk horns in recognition of the speed of a steamer. Sometimes, however, it was just to pay tribute to some favorite captain as when "amid the popping of champagne corks" toasts were given to captains Dan Able, E. Tracy and L. Welton at a gathering of friends aboard the *John H. Dickey*. Music, dancing, and other good cheer, such as choice wines, added much to an evening's entertainment.⁴⁰ Parties similar to this one were also given to celebrate the debut of new packets.⁴¹

Celebrations for the ground breaking or opening of new railroad lines near St. Louis depended for their success upon the steamboats. The *Die Vernon* took a large delegation from St. Louis to Hannibal in 1851 for the ceremonies and ball in connection with the breaking of ground for the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad.⁴² Again the following year St. Louisans attended a similar affair for the Ohio and Mississippi railroad at Illinoistown, when the ferry company had placed its boats at the disposition of the railroad company for the free transportation of the people.⁴³

June 15, 1857, was the "red letter" railroad day, however, for it marked St. Louis' connection with the East. Excursion trains brought many high officials from Ohio, Indiana, and

³⁸*Ibid.*, August 10, 13, 1859.

³⁹*Ibid.*, July 15, 16, 1859.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, February 11, 1858.

⁴¹*Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, October 19, 1854.

⁴²*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 1, 1851.

⁴³*Ibid.*, February 7, 1852.

Illinois. Four steamers, the *Reindeer*, *Baltimore*, *Illinois*, and the *Die Vernon* went to the Illinois shore where the visitors were ushered from the trains to the boats to receive a sumptuous supper and staterooms for the night. At an early morning hour the packets started for St. Louis. Awaiting them were many boats at the wharf decorated with flags and firing their cannons in full salutes of welcome. The bands played, the people cheered, and the result was a fine display of enthusiasm. On the levee the wood piles, flour barrels, and sacks of corn were crowded with the many curious spectators who had anxiously awaited the arrival of their guests.⁴⁴

Among the many beautiful steamers appearing on the Mississippi were the nearly one hundred new packets at the St. Louis port in 1857.⁴⁵ Of all the modes of travel it was claimed that the steamboat was the most pleasant for passing the time agreeably; traveling by railroad was speedier but then, contended the supporters of the steamboat, the pleasure was not comparable. While on a good boat there were walks, books, cards, an enticing menu, and a bed for the weary.⁴⁶

All sorts of inducements were offered people to board the boats. First of all the speed was mentioned, then "elegance—'fast and elegant steamer'"—was a favorite phrase in the advertisement. Next came music which ranged in type from calliope to stringed orchestras. Brass bands were tried but were too expensive when compared with cabin orchestras.⁴⁷ Every evening, round, square, and fancy dancing helped to pass the time.⁴⁸

There was keen competition also in the table fare and service. The menu of February 15, 1857, of the *William M. Morrison* read: soup; baked pike; boiled—chicken, turkey, leg of mutton, corned beef and cabbage, tongue; roast—beef, turkey, lamb, chicken, pork, mutton, pig, veal; cold dishes—boned turkey, spiced ham, alamode beef, lobster salad, pressed

⁴⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 9, 1857; Smith, William, *The Book of the Great Railway Celebration of 1857*, pp. 228-229; Stevens, Walter B., *St. Louis, the Fourth City, 1764-1909*, Vol. I, pp. 575-576.

⁴⁵*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 2, 1857.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, August 9, 1856.

⁴⁷Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁸Painter, Frank, "In the Good Old Days When It Was an Honor to be a Pilot," in Merrick's "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi," *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington).

corn beef; entrees—macaroni, lamb sweet breads, oyster pie; game—black ducks, grouse, venison; relishes—horse radish, pickles, cold slaugh, celery, pickled beets, raw tomatoes; vegetables of the season; puddings and pastry—apple pie, peach pie, sponge cake, jelly cake, fruit cake, grape tarts, pudding, Italian cream, vanilla ice cream, currant pie, maraschino jelly, pound cake, charlotte russe, black cake; dessert—alamode, raisins, oranges, Brazil nuts, peaches, pecans, pineapples, English walnuts, figs, watermelons, madeira nuts, pears, cantaloupes, cream nuts, apples, bananas; and coffee. The liquor list contained clarets, sherries, madeira, ports, sauterne, champagnes, brandy, burgundy, and ale.⁴⁹

The "drinkables" served on the tables were coffee, tea, and river water. The important drink was whiskey, the "necessity." It was a saying on the river that if a man owned a bar on a popular packet, it was better than possessing a gold mine.⁵⁰

A popular tale goes that the usual traveler possessed of a faithful servant or a belt rolling with gold risked his luck at cards and lost one or both. While gambling was permitted on all the boats, the play was not high on the upper Mississippi for there were no wealthy planters on board.⁵¹ Boat owners posted a sign stating that gentlemen who played cards for money did so at their own risk thus absolving themselves from the "friendly game" that surely followed in the forward cabin.

The Mississippi was a popular playground for St. Louisans during the fifties, but once war was declared the picture changed: not only were the beautiful packets put into the service of the government to transport troops and supplies, but many steamboatmen volunteered for service. By the fall of 1861 there were few regular packets running from the St. Louis port;⁵² the Civil War and then later the railroads were depriving the Mississippi steamboats of their earlier significant role.⁵³

⁴⁹The menu is in the library of the Missouri historical society, St. Louis.

⁵⁰Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, pp. 130, 134.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

⁵²*Daily Missouri Republican*, July 10, September 2, 7, 10, 1861.

⁵³Quick, Herbert and Edward, *Mississippi Steamboatmen, A History of Steamboating on the Mississippi and Its Tributaries*, pp. 263, 324.

MISSOURI AND THE WAR

PART XIV

BY DOROTHY DYSART FLYNN¹

On Saturday, September 2, 1945, on board the U. S. S. *Missouri*, the Pacific half of the bloodiest war in the history of the world was brought to a formal end with the signing of the surrender document by both American and Japanese representatives. All day carrier-based planes circled protectively in the sky in waves of twenty and thirty, an endless parade of might through the cloud-streaked skies. It was America on victory parade. The thousands who survived moved in majesty to claim the triumph of the thousands who had died on lonely atolls or were lost in swirling waters in those days of struggle when a world at peace had seemed a forlorn delusion.

The solemn ceremony aboard the mighty battleship *Missouri* marked the first defeat in Japan's 2600-year old semi-legendary history. Twelve signatures, requiring only a few minutes to inscribe on the article of surrender, ended the bloody Pacific conflict which had lasted for three years and nine months, after "the day of infamy," Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. The Japanese signed first, then one by one the allied representatives stepped forward and signed the document that blighted Japan's dream of empire built on bloodshed and tyranny. The flags of the United States, Britain, Russia, and China fluttered from the veranda deck of the famed superdreadnaught, polished and scrubbed as never before. When the pages of history are turned fifty years hence, the name, *Missouri*, will stand forth in full and recognized glory for its contributions in winning the peace: the supreme commander of the army and navy, Missouri's first president, Harry S. Truman, announced to the world the end of the war in both the European theater and the Pacific;

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the formal signing of the surrender document with Japan was on board the mighty U. S. S. *Missouri*; and 220,881 residents and eighty-nine top officers from Missouri served their country in the mighty conflict.

Missouri's number of such officers is a formidable one. Included in the list are nine rear admirals, three full generals, three lieutenant generals, twenty-five major generals, and forty-nine brigadier generals from the "Show-Me" state. This list does not include General Pershing, retired, born in Linn county, Missouri.

In this article the officers are listed alphabetically, rather than by order of their rank.

MISSOURI ADMIRALS AND GENERALS²

Arnold, Brigadier General William H. (Duke) St. Louis

This Missouri general was presented to eighty-eight former prisoners of war in Japan as "Duke Arnold, a scrapping commander" by Lieutenant General Robert L. Eichelberger, commander of the eighth army in Yokohama. "General Arnold had the fighting on Cebu that brought us to our present meeting place," continued General Eichelberger. "I'll never forget the struggle and fighting of the 182nd regiment of his infantry division there. He led his men over a circuitous route of twenty-seven miles through the hills and mountains to come in the rear of the Japanese—and lick them." General Arnold is now in command of the American division in the Yokohama area.

²The author is indebted to the War department, the Navy department, United States Senator Frank L. Briggs, Miss Grace Berger, Kansas City public library, Miss Mildred Boatman, St. Louis public library, Roy King, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, O. W. Chilton, *Democrat-Argus*, Caruthersville, Arthur Aull, *Lamar Democrat*, and Harold M. Slater, *News-Press*, St. Joseph.

The author is especially indebted to W. Ray Loomis of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* for his articles on Missouri generals and admirals which appeared in the *Globe-Democrat*, July 4, 11, and October 10, 1943, and for his current list of the generals and admirals which he included in a letter to Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, October 18, 1945.

Arrowsmith, Brigadier General John C.

Kansas City

This Kansas Citian, a topnotcher in engineering, contributed to the war effort his knowledge of vital road construction. His name will always be linked with the gigantic task of carving the new Burma road through the jungles in the shadow of the Himalayas to open a new supply route to our ally, China.

Ballinger, Vice Admiral Patrick

St. Louis

Beiderlinden, Brigadier General William A.

Springfield

This Missourian's forte in the world struggle was that of teaching others how to fight. General Beiderlinden served as artillery commander of the forty-fourth infantry division at Fort Lewis, Washington.

Black, Brigadier General Frederick H.

Meadville, St. Louis

This Missouri general, a commissioned officer in the army for twenty-eight years, commanded the ninety-ninth infantry division during the German counteroffensive in Belgium last December and has been decorated with the legion of merit, the silver star, and the bronze star.

His son, Lieutenant Frederick H. Black, Jr., was wounded in the battle of the Ruhr pocket while serving as platoon leader under his father's command.

General Black was assigned assistant commanding general of the Camp Blanding, Florida, infantry replacement training center in November, 1945.

Black, Brigadier General Garland C.

Kansas City

A graduate of the University of Missouri, General Black served as signal officer for the twelfth army group in Europe during the war. At the end of the war he was assigned as commandant of the Central signal corps school at Camp Crowder. He resigned this command in October to enter the Walter Reed hospital in Washington D. C. because of ill health.

Bradley, Major General James L.

Rolla

In command of the ninety-sixth division, "Smiling Jim," as he is called by his army friends, will go down in the history of the war as one of the generals who helped MacArthur retake the Philippines. Not content with his command as chief of staff of the fourth army and the western defense command, he requested General Marshall for duty with a fighting division.

Bradley, General Omar N.

Clark, Moberly

The Germans, whose traditionally trained generals were pitted against this Missourian for over two and a half years, found that they had met more than their match in this master of army strategy. During the Tunisian and Sicilian campaigns Bradley outsmarted the Germans at every turn, but it was his masterful touch in France, the direction of what became the St. Lô breakthrough in midsummer which led to the final downfall of Germany as a warring nation, that won his acclaim as one of the greatest American generals. After his successes in France, General Bradley was elevated to the command of the twelfth army group, originally comprising the first, third, and ninth armies, and later the fifteenth, a million-man command, the largest in American history. While beset by the breakthrough of the Germans in the Ardennes forest in December, 1944, General Bradley led that army on to complete victory over the Nazis just a little better than eleven months after he had stormed across the English channel with them.

This Missouri four star general, known as the conqueror of the Germans from Bizerte to Berlin, who led the greatest army America ever placed in the field, faced his biggest job after the peace in Europe, when he was named Veterans' administrator. With 12,000,000 men in uniform, the Veterans' administration in post-war years will be a heavy responsibility. General Bradley's job will be to supervise the care of wounded and ill veterans and the benefits due them, including their additional schooling. It has been estimated that more than one million will want further education.

In September 1945, General Bradley estimated that within a year approximately twenty million veterans would be under supervision of the administration. After that he said the figure would probably scale down. In this important position Bradley is still the "doughboy's general." He has the touch of the men in the line and their welfare is a personal thing with him.

Brown, Brigadier General Charles C.

St. Louis

Although born in Texas in 1890, this general was appointed from Missouri to the General Staff school and was graduated from the Command and General Staff school. He later graduated from the Quartermaster corps Motor Transport school, Field Artillery school, battery officers' course, Chemical Warfare school, and line and staff officers' course. He received a B.S. degree from the Virginia Military institution in 1910.

Bruce, Major General Andrew D.

St. Louis

During this war General Bruce became known as the man who solved the riddle of what to do to defeat an armored division. He found that the real enemy of a tank is not another tank but a gun, one that could outsmash and out-range the armament of the tank. From these deductions was born a vehicle with a self-propelling platform which could surpass the tank in speed and mobility, and known as a "tank buster." General Bruce was the first commander of Camp Hood, Texas, the army tank destroyer school. His motto, "seek, strike, and destroy," was used most successfully against the German panzer divisions.

Campbell, Lieutenant General Levin H. Jr.

St. Louis

In 1942 this St. Louisan was made chief of ordnance for a four-year term with headquarters in Washington, D. C. He is best known in Missouri for his silencing intimations that the St. Louis ordnance plant was manufacturing inferior ammunition. After a careful investigation he re-

ported, "We can sit here and snipe all day long, but the fact remains, all we get from the front is the finest kind of reports on our ammunition."

This chief of the greatest ordnance program in the history of the country saw to it that our army was, and remained, the best equipped army in the world.

Carroll, Brigadier General Percy J.

Clayton

General Carroll held the important post as chief surgeon for American forces in Australia. During the struggle at Bataan and Corregidor this Missourian commandeered an old inter-island freighter constructed to carry seventy-five passengers. With Manila about to fall he put to sea with 350 wounded and a small staff of Filipino doctors and nurses. Due to the terrific battle it was necessary to sail in the turbulent waters for over five weeks before landing the wounded in Australia.

Case, Brigadier General Homer

Elkland, Marshfield

General Case is one of Missouri's high ranking officers who was under fifty years of age during the war years. In 1941 he served as a special army observer in London with the intelligence staff. He was later given the command of the thirty-first coast artillery brigade (anti-aircraft) at Camp Hahn, California.

Colbern, Brigadier General William H.

Lee's Summit

A major and United States military attaché at the outbreak of the war, General Colbern had a narrow escape, but a thrilling adventure in Europe in 1939. While motoring through war-torn Poland he was overtaken by troops near the Rumanian border. He was finally permitted to proceed only when his Polish chauffeur posed as a German. Colbern, who had been functioning as a military observer, discontinued this practice less than an hour afterward, and what he did observe thereafter was from a military grandstand in Rumania.

Combs, Rear Admiral Thomas Selby

Lamar

This admiral is the third member of the Lamar triumvirate of admirals which contributed so greatly to the many naval victories during the past conflict.

Craig, General Malin

St. Joseph

This Missouri general was the ninth man in the history of the country to hold a four-star rank. Although it has been forty-seven years since America engaged Spain in our last great war of the previous century, General Craig, just out of West Point, took part in the Santiago campaign. General Craig served as chief of staff for the United States army from 1935 to 1939. At that time he retired from active duty after having commanded every type of military unit from cavalry troops to field army. He was recalled in 1941 to become head of the war department's personnel board. General Craig died July 25, 1945.

Cummins, Major General Joseph M.

St. Louis

After service in the Philippines this St. Louis general served in China and later became professor of military science at Clemson college, South Carolina, and the general service school. He commanded the sixth corps area before becoming commanding general of the Columbus depot in Ohio, filling a vital niche in the supply department.

Curtis, Brigadier General James W.

Jefferson City

This general from Cole county was awarded the silver star during his service in eleven battles and campaigns in 1917 and 1918. During World war II he held the important post of assistant chief of staff, G-3, of the headquarters replacement and command school at Birmingham, Alabama.

Cushman, Brigadier General Thomas J.

St. Louis

In 1944 Brigadier General Cushman, born in St. Louis in 1895, was made commanding officer of the fourth Marine

base defense aircraft wing. One of his previous important assignments was as supervisor of construction of the marine corps air station at Cherry Point, North Carolina.

Daubin, Rear Admiral Freeland A.

Lamar

In January 1941, this admiral from the inland town of Lamar, far from any salt water, was transferred to the command of the submarine base at Pearl Harbor and the fourth submarine squadron. This was his post December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attack occurred. Admiral Daubin's squadron did not lose a vessel. Shortly after he was made commander of the United States submarine fleet in the Atlantic. His function there was chiefly in using his knowledge to instruct and train crews at sea and in schools, and to supervise the building, repairing, and testing of all submarines for combat purposes.

Davison, Rear Admiral Ralph E.

St. Louis

During World war II this St. Louis admiral was the No. 2 man in naval aeronautics. His job was that of keeping the planes of the navy flowing to the battlefronts and training bases. During the war he met and solved hundreds of plane production problems after he was sent to Washington in 1937.

Davison had been also an active antagonist against Germany in the first World war. He was an ensign, just out of Annapolis at the time, but he served as liaison officer on the U. S. S. *Oklahoma* when the German fleet surrendered at Scapa Flow.

DeCarre, Brigadier General Alphonse

St. Louis

St. Louis had representation in the marine corps in the person of Brigadier General DeCarre who was a resident of that city when he accepted a commission with the "leather-necks." After his first foreign service with the marines in Haiti, he served in Cuba, China, and Nicaragua. DeCarre is one of the country's most decorated generals. By 1943 he had a total of nineteen medals and three citations.

Doolittle, Lieutenant General James H.

St. Louis

Every aviation-minded youngster in the nation is familiar with the exploits of this general, affectionately called "Jimmy" Doolittle. It was he who defeated the Axis aerial armada and ran it out of the skies in the American Mediterranean sector. He gave the newspapers a heyday when he led the first raid on Tokyo. That was an exploit that seized the imagination of the American public, and *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo* describing this air adventure became a "best seller," finding its way to the bookshelves in the homes of Mr. and Mrs. America.

Duncan, Rear Admiral Jack J.

Springfield

In 1942 Admiral Duncan, then a captain, caused a furor at a twenty-six course dinner which Joseph Stalin was giving in honor of Prime Minister Churchill. Duncan, a naval attaché at Moscow, was asked to respond to a toast. He did not respond in the approved diplomatic manner. It might have affected the whole course of Soviet-American relations when Duncan declared he thought relations between the United States and Russia left a lot to be desired, he wanted to know why he was not allowed to see any important naval centers or important military action, and he stated that he definitely did not like all the hush-hush about these matters. Stalin rose to reply and his auditors were breathless. Would he resent the brazen assertions of this 48-year old Missourian? Stalin began by saying he was pleased and gratified by the splendid things that had been said during the evening, and he was particularly pleased with Captain Duncan. He gave immediate orders for a change in relationship.

Dunkel, Major General William C.

Springfield

It was Bill Dunkel, one time back-field star at the University of Missouri, and later backfield coach under Gwinn Henry, who led the task force ashore on Mindoro although suffering from shock and wounds of his hands and arms from having been bombed aboard a navy transport the day before the

landing. Much of the credit for this successful landing in the Philippines went to the brilliant leadership of this Missouri general.

General Dunkel was well prepared for his command in the Pacific, having served as war plans commissioner for the Philippines when MacArthur was Chief of staff, and again when MacArthur was military adviser to the Philippine commonwealth. Dunkel was artillery officer for an American division during the heavy fighting on Bougainville when his field guns smashed many Japanese suicide attacks.

Dunn, Rear Admiral Charles A.

Warrensburg

This western Missouri admiral, an expert in engineering, did much to keep the Pacific fleet in top running order. He was in practically all of the big naval battles of the Pacific.

Fickel, Major General Jacob E.

St. Louis

General Fickel received the distinguished service medal for supervision of the army air force technician training program in London, England. He commanded the army air forces' eastern technical training command from March 1 to July 12, 1944. The citation read, "the accelerating expansion of the program for training air force technicians" was accomplished with "the highest acumen, tact, initiative and fidelity to duty."

General Fickel enlisted in the army in 1904, advanced to second lieutenant in 1907, and through the grades to infantry captain in 1916. He trained as a pilot in 1918, was placed in command of a flying school in 1935, and transferred to the staff of the ninth corps area to serve from 1936 to 1939. In 1938 he directed aircraft production and in 1939 he was given command of the first wing of general headquarters air force. In 1940 he became assistant chief of the air corps and was promoted to major general.

Forster, Brigadier General George J. Kansas City

Born April 24, 1891, he was a second lieutenant in World war I and advanced through the grades to brigadier general by 1942. During 1939 he served on the general staff, later becoming supply officer G-4, of the fifth division. He went overseas in 1941 where he received the distinguished service cross, the silver star, and the *croix de guerre*.

Foster, Brigadier General Ivan L. Yates

This general, like Omar N. Bradley, comes from Randolph county. During the past conflict he served as liaison officer between the ground and air forces at air headquarters, and later served with the eighty-fourth infantry division. He adroitly kept the wheels well oiled.

Fox, Brigadier General Alonzo P. St. Louis

This St. Louis general did intelligence work in the Philippines from 1923 to 1924. During the war years he specialized in training officers to become instructors in various United States military establishments, and in 1943 he was detailed assistant division commander of the 102nd division, Camp Maxey, Texas.

Glenn, Brigadier General Edgar E. Kansas City

When General Joe Stilwell was called into Washington for a consultation, Missouri General Glenn was placed in charge of the large fourteenth air force in China. During this appointment he was wounded by a bomb fragment in a raid by Japanese planes on the American base. Prior to this assignment General Glenn had participated in anti-submarine patrol in the Atlantic.

Gray, Brigadier General Carl R., Jr. Kansas City

Born in 1889, this general served in World war I in the capacity of captain, major, and lieutenant colonel. After the war he was on the reserve officer's list of the United States engineering reserve as a full colonel. In 1943 he was appointed brigadier general in charge of railway transportation in the European theater of war.

Grower, Brigadier General Roy W.

Clayton

General Grower was district engineer of the St. Louis engineering district of the United States engineer corps for three years prior to 1942. Under his direction much of the expanded construction for war production was carried on there. In October 1943, he received the legion of merit for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of his duties in the European theater of operations. He was listed as commanding officer of the Brittany base section.

Haddon, Brigadier General Julian B.

Pleasant Hill

This Cass county man is one of the few high officers of the Middle West who enlisted in the army as a flying cadet in World war I. In January 1942, he assumed command of Craig field, Alabama.

Hall, Brigadier General William E.

St. Louis

Often called a "phenomenon of a streamlined war," General Hall is the youngest man of his rank, having been only nine years old at the time of World war I. His specialty in the mapping of global aerial strategy was of great help in his position as one of the three deputy air chiefs of the air staff under General Arnold, supreme commander of the United States army air forces.

Hardaway, Brigadier General Francis P.

St. Louis

Former commanding general of Camp Callan, California, this Missouri general was awarded the legion of merit in March 1945, for his "exceptionally meritorious conduct and outstanding service" in the training of anti-aircraft replacement personnel in the critical period before and after Pearl Harbor.

Heileman, Major General Frank A.

St. Louis

This St. Louisian was among those nominated by President Roosevelt last April, just before his death, for the rank of major general. General Heileman was born in St. Louis

and graduated from the school of engineering at the University of Missouri before entering the army more than two decades ago.

Hoge, Major General William E., Sr. Boonville, Lexington

Cooper county was the birthplace of this builder of the most important military highway ever constructed on the North American continent. His ability as an engineer in France during World war I when he built roads and bridges often under fire of the Germans, was one of the factors that led to his selection for the Alaskan job in 1942. Pressed for time, harassed by miserable weather, and aggravated by the problems of terrain such as cutting through the loftiest mountain range in Canada, he carried out his assignment of linking the United States with our military outposts in the far north, the closest bases to Japan on American soil.

After completion of this gigantic job he saw action in the European theater and became familiarly known as the Remagen bridge victor, for the units under his command were those which materially shortened the European war by taking the Remagen bridge intact. It was across this span that the first American troops poured over the Rhine.

The general related, "Oh, we just captured it. It was there, standing, not destroyed. We rushed it. The Germans fired two charges. They tried to blow it up but only the primer charges went off. The main charges didn't explode. They were old—probably had been there three or four months and hadn't been replaced, due to carelessness and inefficiency of the Germans. So we got the railway bridge with traffic accommodations for cars and trucks, and walkways on the side."

Howell, Brigadier General George P.

St. Louis

General Howell was commandant of the parachute school and commanding officer of the first airborne infantry brigade at Fort Benning, Georgia. The safe landing of our parachute troops in Sicily and in Normandy can be credited in part to the thorough training by this Missouri general.

Johnson, Brigadier General Leon W. Columbia

"For conspicuous gallantry in action and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty" read the citation awarded this Columbian in August 1943. General Johnson, then a colonel, was awarded the nation's highest decoration, the congressional medal of honor, as one of the leaders of the air raid on the Ploesti oil fields. This precisely planned, low-level attack consisting of more than 175 liberator bombers, was heralded in the newspapers, for these fields had been feeding the Axis war machine at least one-third of its petroleum.

Other exploits behind Johnson included leadership of the first American raid on Wilhelmshaven, and attacks on Kiel, Bordeaux, St. Nazaire, and Brest. When he was in North Africa this forty-year old West Point graduate led raids on Lecce, Foggia, and Reggio.

Jones, Major General Lloyd E. Columbia

This Boone county general, whose father was once president of the University of Missouri, is best known for his feat in occupying Amchitka in the Rat island group of the Aleutians. Landing during a storm in the midst of the fierce fighting, he encountered hardships and privations beyond imagination, according to press reports. The barges were dashed to pieces and the general along with his men plodded through knee-deep mud. Refusing to leave his men, he worked through the night with them on the sodden beaches. He completed one of America's most important island fortresses in record time. This airfield put Tokyo within theoretical range of the giant American bombers.

Joy, Rear Admiral Charles Turner St. Louis

Krueger, General Walter St. Louis

This general, a native of Germany, was a former commandant of Jefferson barracks. In 1934 when he entertained Japanese dignitaries at that army post he little dreamed that eight years later he would be directing American forces

against the Nips in the South Pacific. A photograph reproduced in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* revealed Krueger with Colonel Shizuicki Tanaka reviewing a regimental parade of the sixth infantry. Tanaka, a military attaché of the Japanese embassy in Washington, came to St. Louis to thank General Krueger for permitting Major Tadao Teragaki of the Japanese imperial army to visit Jefferson barracks for six months as an "observer."

There was also a time when Krueger was host to aristocratic German military visitors, Lieutenant General von Blomberg and Colonel Kulenthal, who were taking a tour of the army posts of the United States in 1930. Krueger and Missouri's general Craig posed for a picture with the visitors in Chicago.

General Krueger, a private during the Spanish-American war, was No. 2 man to General MacArthur during the Pacific struggle, as commanding officer of the sixth army.

Ladue, Brigadier General Lawrence J.

St. Louis

Born in Missouri June 14, 1903, he was appointed to West Point Military academy and later graduated from the General staff corps school, Command and General Staff school, Cavalry school training officer's course, advanced equitation course, and in 1941 was appointed a major in the United States army, advancing through the ranks to brigadier general.

Landrum, Major General Eugene M.

St. Louis

The credit for the first reoccupation of American territory lost to Japan as well as the first full-scale land operation in the Aleutian sector of the war goes to Missouri's Major General Eugene M. Landrum who captured Attu. His only complaint during this important campaign was that he was "too far from the front." He voiced this displeasure when informed that the enemy had been continuously pounding a snowbank one hundred yards from his headquarters tent. "I'll have to move up closer," he commented.

Lee, Brigadier General Raymond E.

St. Louis

This Missouri general is American "tops" in military intelligence with the title of assistant chief of staff, G-2. Most of his deeds are unsung. Any great contributions he made were necessarily "military secrets," but much was heard of the importance of intelligence during the past war.

Livesay, Major General William G.

Columbia

This Boone countian was awarded the distinguished service medal for "exceptionally meritorious service in duty of great responsibility in Italy," and presented to General Livesay May 16, 1945. The citation continued, "As commanding general of the 71st 'Powder River' division, Major General Livesay instilled into his forces the aggressiveness, superb morale, and the will to win which were responsible for the division's outstanding successes against the Arno river line. . . . General Livesay's professional skill, devotion to duty, and inspiring leadership exemplify the highest traditions of the armed forces."

Lockwood, Vice Admiral Charles A., Jr.

Lamar

The long arm of coincidence was certainly stretched when the little town of Lamar, Barton county, with a population of less than 3000 provided the navy with three navy chieftains. Service historians recall nothing to approach it since 1919 when the late Admiral Robert E. Coontz and General John J. Pershing, natives respectively of Hannibal and Laclede, Missouri, were confirmed as chief of naval operations and general of the armies of the United States.

When Admiral Daubin, commander of the Atlantic fleet since 1942, was just a boy, Charles A. Lockwood, a businessman from Virginia, settled in Lamar. He brought with him a son, four years younger than Freeland Daubin. Years later Daubin received an appointment to Annapolis and was instrumental in getting his friend and protégé, Charles A. Lockwood, Jr., into the same institution.

During World war I Admiral Lockwood was in Japan, then an ally of the United States, inspecting naval ships purchased by the Mikado, but Admiral Daubin took his friend along to the London conference early in 1919 and saw to it that Lockwood also had a captured German submarine to bring back to the United States, the Uc-97.

In 1943 Admiral Lockwood was appointed commander of submarine forces in the Pacific, as his friend Freeland Daubin was of the Atlantic forces.

McCauley, Brigadier General James W.

St. Louis

This forty-five year old general attended West Point Military academy. After graduation he became interested in flying and graduated from the Air Corps schools for primary and advanced flying. He then followed this field through a pursuit course, the Air Corps tactical school and was rated as command pilot, combat observer, and aircraft observer. He was made a brigadier general, June 4, 1944.

MacMorland, Brigadier General Edward E.

Kansas City

This Kansas Citian is a specialist in ordnance. His official title during the war years was chief of maintenance for the ordnance field service division. One of Missouri's most traveled generals, he has been on official business in North Africa, Russia, England, France, the Philippines, Germany, China, and the Balkans. He received the purple heart in 1919 for participation in nine engagements while reconstructing and operating the Murmansk railroad in Russia.

McSherry, Brigadier General Frank J.

Eldorado Springs

This Missourian from Cedar county was the top American officer in the first American-British military government which accompanied the allied invasion army to govern Sicily.

Maddox, Brigadier General Louis W.

Lamar

Lamar isn't all "at sea" since it has an army representative in this high bracket officer who was born on the old Maddox place near Lamar on the cemetery road. While he and his parents left more than fifty years ago, Lamar claims him as a native.

Maris, Brigadier General Ward H.

Kansas City

A second lieutenant with the field artillery in 1917, General Maris rose through the ranks to brigadier general in May 1942. He attended the command and general staff school from 1937 to 1939 and was on the war department's general staff from 1940 to 1942. At that time he was given the command of the ninety-fifth infantry division.

Marquat, Major General William F.

St. Louis

In the midst of the fierce fighting since the outbreak of this war, this Missouri general has commanded the respect of the Japanese. He was serving as chief of the coast artillery command in the Philippines when the Japanese invaded the islands. It was he who planned and supervised the installation of additional seacoast defenses for Bataan. He was awarded the distinguished service medal in 1942 with the citation, "His brilliant technical ability, his capacity for rapid and sustained effort, and his genius for improvisation to meet the needs of the situation, contributed immeasurably to the ability of the command to offer sustained resistance." After the supervision of the defense of Bataan, General Marquat accompanied General MacArthur to Australia.

Mayberry, Brigadier General Hugh T.

Farmington

Under the command of this general the tank destroyer school at Camp Hood, Texas, graduated thousands of fighters who successfully practiced lessons learned from him against German panzer divisions. General Mayberry became head of the first destroyer center organized at Fort Meade, Maryland, in 1941, and the huge Texas establishment was an outgrowth of the Missourian's early service.

Means, Brigadier General Lewis M. Fayette, Greenfield

General Means is well known to many Missourians for his service as adjutant general under Governor Lloyd Stark. During the war General Means served as commander of the seventieth infantry brigade at Camp Robinson, Arkansas.

Miller, Brigadier General Lyle H. Lexington

This Lafayette county officer was the single high officer outside Missouri's DeCarre who served with the marine corps. Previously an instructor in Wentworth military academy, General Miller served as chief of staff with the marine defense forces in the south Pacific.

Moore, Brigadier General Ernest (Mickey) Caruthersville

This general was in command of the famed seventh fighter group stationed at Iwo Jima. In April 1945, war correspondent Elmont Waite datelined a story about him:

In a hot little quonset hut on this ugly little ash heap, lives a man who wears three hats. His pilots shot down the first Japanese in this war and expect to shoot down the last. He's known to the trade as Brigadier General Ernest Moore and his three jobs (separate hats are purely figurative) are:

1. Commanding general of the "Sunsetters"—the seventh fighter command, whose P-51 Mustangs have been roaming over Japan of late.
2. Air bases commander on Iwo Jima (in command of its three airfields).
3. Air defense commander, Iwo Jima.

All three hats fit pretty well, since General Moore was a staff officer of the Hawaiian air force before Pearl Harbor was attacked, is a veteran fighter pilot and participated in pioneering flights of the first B-17s.

General Moore, nicknamed Mickey for his screen prototype, has been in the central Pacific since 1937. When B-17s went from Hawaii to Midway to Wake to Port Moresby to Darwin to Manila in September 1941, General Moore went along.

General Moore was born December 23, 1907 at Caruthersville.

Moore, Major General Richard C.

California

This general from Moniteau county went to St. Louis in 1930 as assistant division engineer of the upper Mississippi valley division of the United States engineers. Later he was transferred to Kansas City for river and harbor improvements. His many previous assignments included service in Cuba and the Philippines, and as a member of the United States naval mission to Peru from 1928 to 1930. In 1942 he was made chief of the army requirements section at headquarters of the ground forces in Washington, D. C.

Moreell, Vice Admiral Ben

St. Louis

During World war I Vice Admiral Moreell served with the Azores detachment of the United States Atlantic fleet, but during World war II he had the herculean task of directing the navy's shore establishments, as well as supporting its rapidly growing fleets. He was not only chief of the civil engineers, with 3000 Seabee officers under his command, but also served as head of the bureau of yards and docks. Under him an unprecedented shore building program was rushed, including naval aviation bases, hospital services, and new ammunition depots.

Mueller, Major General Paul J.

Union

General Mueller was a member of that famous West Point graduating class of 1915 along with General Eisenhower and General Bradley and other well known World war II top officers. Following the outbreak of hostilities in 1941, Mueller was made chief of staff of the second army and served with the eighty-first infantry division at Camp Rucker, Alabama. After being stationed at Hawaii, he became a hero in the eyes of the American public in 1944 for his landing on Angaur island, southernmost of the Palau group with his "wildcat" division, the eighty-first.

General Mueller also had been a hero of World war I. While a major he was awarded the silver star for bravery in action supporting the French army during the closing weeks of hostilities.

Owens, Brigadier General Ray L. Chillicothe

His overseas assignment during the war was as command pilot and combat observer for the United States air forces.

Phelps, Brigadier General Joseph V. Salisbury

It was generally difficult to put your finger on this Missouri general for he was frequently on "confidential missions," although assigned to an air-borne division of Allied troops.

Plank, Major General Ewart G. Harrisonville

Born in Missouri, November 4, 1897, Major General Plank attended West Point and later the graduate Command and General Staff school. He completed both the basic engineering course and one in civil engineering. In 1940 he was given the rank of major and attended the Air Corps primary flying school.

Pope, Brigadier General Francis H. St. Louis

Definitely a "chip off the old block" is this St. Louisan whose father was the famous Major General John Pope of Civil war fame. During World war II Brigadier General Francis H. Pope served as chief of general service of the office of quartermaster general.

Powell, Brigadier General William D. Kansas City

Victory was a high price for this Missouri general who died in the service of his country while serving as a member of General Stilwell's staff in the Burma-India-China theater in October 1943.

Pratt, Brigadier General Don F. Brookfield

This Linn county officer, commissioned during World war I, was with the 101st airborne division, famous for its activities in the battle of Normandy.

Purnell, Rear Admiral William R.

Bowling Green

This No. 1 standby in several major sea battles with the Japanese, first saw service as commander of allied naval forces based in western Australia in 1942. Later he served as deputy chief of staff to Admiral King, later serving in the same capacity to Admiral Halsey and the third fleet. Vice Admiral Purnell was awarded the distinguished service medal for his planning and aiding American offensives in the Pacific resulting in substantial damage to enemy armadas. During the first World war he commanded three destroyers protecting convoys against U-boats.

Quade, Brigadier General Omar H.

St. Charles

General Quade has been in the army medical corps since he was commissioned a second lieutenant more than thirty-five years ago. Aiding in the battle of the Marne in World war I, during this second conflict he served as commanding officer of the Fitzsimmons general hospital in Denver.

Robertson, Major General Walter M.

St. Louis

Another St. Louisan who saw service in both world wars, General Robertson was placed in command of the 101st coast artillery brigade at Camp Hahn, California in 1942. He was awarded the distinguished service medal as commanding general of the second infantry division in Brittany in the fall of 1944.

Robinett, Brigadier General Paul McD.

Mountain Grove

This heroic general from Missouri was the victor at Kassérine pass in North Africa which led to the capture of Oran. He was critically wounded when a shell exploded in his tank, but before that he had trained a subtask force until it reached the pink of perfection and then led them to smashing victory during the opening days of the North African campaign.

Rucker, Brigadier General Casper B.

Brunswick

General Rucker enlisted in the army thirty-seven years ago as a private and rose to his present rank as chief of staff of the eighth service command with headquarters at Dallas, Texas.

Russell, Brigadier General Carl A.

Richmond Heights

General Russell had immediate responsibility for setting up the world-wide projects necessary for the defense of the United States, as well as for harbor defenses and strategical military highways of the continent. He participated in the preparation of plans for the over-all mobilization of the army and the induction of the national guard into active military service. Prior to this he handled pre-war aid, forerunner of lend-lease aid to South and Central American republics, and was in direct charge of United States military missions to Russia, Iran, India, China, and the Middle East.

He received a citation for distinguished service as a member of the war plans division which stated that his unremitting application, his comprehensive knowledge, and his unusual executive ability contributed greatly to the successful functioning of war plans and operations divisions during the critical era in the history of the nation.

Schwein, Brigadier General Edwin E.

St. Joseph

Awarded the distinguished service cross for action in World war I, this St. Joseph man made the army his profession. He graduated from the infantry school in 1924, the Command and General Staff school in 1928, and studied in the École Supérieure de Guerre, Paris, France, 1930-1932. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in January 1943, and served as chief of liaison between the French first army and the American high command.

In the years from 1932 to 1936 General Schwein was an instructor in the Command and General Staff school, and in the Cavalry school in 1939. He was the author of *Combat Intelli-*

gence, published in 1936, which was translated into German and Russian, and was used as a military text in England and other foreign countries.

Scott, Rear Admiral Norman, Sr.

Kirkwood

Admiral Scott was the United States' fourth admiral to lose his life in combat. His family received the congressional medal of honor from President Roosevelt "for extraordinary heroism and conspicuous intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty during action against Japanese forces during the battle of Cape Esperance on the night of October 11-12 and again during the battle of Guadalcanal on the night of November 12-13, 1942."

During the first engagement Admiral Scott intercepted a task force intent upon storming island positions at Guadalcanal. At that time Admiral Scott was credited with sinking eight enemy vessels and putting the others to flight. Challenged a month later he led his force into a desperate battle against tremendous odds, directing close-range operations until he was killed in the furious bombardment by the superior fire power of the Japanese.

Admiral Scott was the only Missouri admiral to have served as naval aide to a president. Just before and after the hostilities of World war I he was naval aide to President Wilson.

Sverdrup, Major General Leif J.

Richmond Heights

One of the map-making episodes of the war was written by this St. Louis general in New Guinea where he served as acting and chief engineer of the Southwest Pacific area. When the Japanese were threatening Port Moresby during the summer of 1942, General Sverdrup got behind the Japanese lines and mapped positions for jungle landing strips. This was just part of his job—that of mapping uncharted islands in the Pacific, but this particular feat made engineering history.

General Sverdrup's work immeasurably speeded up the reoccupation of the islands. He was later transferred to Luzon where he served under General MacArthur.

Taylor, Major General Maxwell D.

Kansas City

This forty-three year old general flew from Washington across the Atlantic last Christmas eve when he heard that his division was encircled at Bastogne. Commander of the 101st airborne division he arrived in Belgium, December 26, and hurried to Bastogne in a jeep after a spearhead force of the fourth armored division held Bastogne against all enemy attacks.

This Kansas Citian had filled assignments in Hawaii, China, and Japan where he spent four years in the study of languages. He is best known for his daring visit to Rome just a few hours before the invasion of Salerno, Italy. In company with Colonel Tudor Gardiner, a former governor of Maine, he made a visit to the capital under the eyes of the Germans to confer with Premier Badoglio and Italian commanders.

He was awarded the distinguished service cross by General Bradley at a ceremony at the front in Normandy for personally leading an attack over a causeway which cleared a path for advancing units.

Thomas, Brigadier General Gerald C.

Slater

From buck private to brigadier general, through World war I battles of Belleau Wood, Soissons, St. Mihiel, the Argonne, and through the World war II struggle at Guadalcanal, was the route of promotion for Gerald Thomas, a native Missourian. During the past war he served as chief of staff for Lieutenant General Alexander Vandegrift.

Tindall, Brigadier General Richard G.

Columbia, St. Louis

This Columbia-born general was a former St. Louis newspaperman who has risen to great heights in the army. He was telegraph and makeup editor of the old St. Louis *Republic* until he was commissioned a second lieutenant November 30, 1916, and promoted to first lieutenant the same day. Four years after coming home from France he was assigned to the University of Missouri as a professor of military science and tactics. He later became a national guard

instructor in Texas. In November 1940, General Tindall took charge of the western European section of military intelligence in Washington.

In 1941 he assumed command of the ninety-third anti-tank battalion, and in January 1942, he was assigned to the tank destroyer tactical and firing center at Killeen, Texas. General Tindall, an expert in anti-tank warfare, indirectly contributed to the eventual downfall of Rommel while he was serving as second in command at Camp Hood, Texas.

Train, Rear Admiral Harold C.

Kansas City

This Kansas Citian was director of naval intelligence associated with the vice-chief of naval operations. Naval intelligence was something for both the Japanese and our European enemies to conjure with. In August, 1942 Train was placed in charge of naval intelligence, and in October 1943, he was transferred to Panama. He was one of the admirals at the Dumbarton Oaks conference in Washington in August of 1944.

Vaughan, Brigadier General Harry H.

Glasgow, St. Louis

This Glasgow-born Missouri general was "in the scrap" from the very early days of the war. For twenty-two months he served in the southwest Pacific on the supply staff of the army forces in Australia. He was wounded in an airplane crash and was sent to the Walter Reed hospital in Washington, D. C., for treatment. A warm personal friend of President Truman, as well as a buddy during World War I, upon being released from the hospital he was made military aide to Truman who was then vice-president. After Truman was elevated to the presidency, Vaughan was given the customary rank of president's aide, brigadier general.

Ward, Major General Orlando

Macon

Known during the early days of the war as one of the "Big Six" bearing the brunt of directing activities of the nation's armored forces, he was also another Missourian who was wounded in Africa. While in command of the

first armored division during the early stages of the Tunisian campaign, he joined a battalion in a night attack near Maknassy to obtain personal knowledge of combat operations. A shell struck him in the face, but he refused to withdraw from the scene. For his outstanding bravery he was awarded the distinguished service cross, and became the fourth Missourian to use his anti-tank warfare knowledge as commander of the tank destroyer center at Camp Hood, Texas.

Waters, Brigadier General Jerome J., Jr.

Springfield

This Greene county general was given the task of instructing Chinese officers in the latest combat methods when he was placed in command of an artillery training school in China. Serving with him in the Far East was his son, Sergeant Jerome J. Waters, III, only seventeen at the time of this service.

Watson, Major General Leroy H., Sr.

St. Louis

During the early part of the war when the campaign was so intense in North Africa, many of the desert fighters gave a little prayer of thanks to this Missouri general for his thorough training in the western desert of the United States. After the close of this part of the war, General Watson was placed in charge of the third armored division at Camp Polk, Louisiana.

Wesson, Major General Charles M.

St. Louis

As chief of ordnance for the United States army, General Wesson conducted the greatest ordnance program in the history of the country. After his brilliant success in the ordnance department he was appointed No. 2 man in the lend-lease administration.

Whitehead, Major General Ennis C.

Kansas City

This Kansas Citian was promoted from flying cadet in 1917 through the grades to major general in 1943 in the air force. He was placed second in command of air forces in New

Guinea in the summer of that year. After receiving a distinguished service medal for his air exploits, he was one of the commanding officers in the merger of the fifth bomber command and the far eastern air force. He has received many medals in addition to the DSM: the distinguished flying cross, victory medal, one from the British empire, order of the sun (Peru), order of condor of Andes (Bolivia), order of merit (Chile), order of the liberator (Venezuela) and the silver star.

Williams, Major General John F.

Columbia

General Williams has long been a member of the Missouri national guard since his service extends to infantry private in 1903. He was ordered to active duty in 1936, and when a vacancy occurred in 1940, General Marshall, army chief of staff, promoted the Missouri general to chief of the war department's national guard bureau on the dual recommendation of Missouri's Governor Stark and Senator Harry S. Truman. General Williams and President Truman soldiered together in the old thirty-fifth division.

General Williams says that there will be a bigger than ever national guard now that the war is over. When the war started the guard had 300,000 enlisted men, and 20,000 officers. Having federal status since World war I it was ordered into active service right after Pearl Harbor. He concluded, "The states are going to demand a great national guard. They're not going to wait for another war before fortifying industrial cities. This time the guard will have numerous anti-aircraft and coast artillery units."

Wilson, Brigadier General Alexander

Farmington

Another Farmington man, General Wilson had the unusual experience of resigning as a midshipman at Annapolis naval academy and transferring to the army in which he has climbed to the rank of brigadier general. Smoke-firing technique and incendiary bombing efficiency in attacking cities like Berlin and Tokyo depended to a great extent upon the training instilled by this Missouri general who has also been

trained in other forms of warfare. As a chemical expert, he was commandant of the chemical warfare school at Edgewood arsenal, Maryland. He has been associated with this military establishment for more than eighteen years, having been a major in his early tasks there.

INCIDENTS AND COINCIDENCES³

All the talk about tax cuts suggests one main question to the Excelsior Springs *Daily Standard*—when will the government quit living beyond our means.

The Lamar *Democrat* says, "We asked a returned defense worker if he kept track of what he spent. He said 'Nope, I don't bother with that. I just keep track of my wages and then I know exactly what I spend.'"

The Joplin *Globe* tells the story of some bluejackets on a South Pacific atoll who were discussing post-war plans. One said: "After I get out of the navy I'm going to put a pair of oars on my shoulder and start walking inland, and the first place I come to where someone asks me, 'What are those things?'—that's the place I'm going to settle down."

The editor of the *Holt County Democrat* writes that a friend of his, who is on the road but who didn't have too much gasoline during the rationing days, says the gasoline he gets now is of such poor quality that he is thinking of having some of it tested. He says he is getting only about fifteen miles to the gallon whereas when he was allotted only four gallons a week he sometimes managed fifty miles to the gallon.

Talking about unemployment reminds the Joplin *Globe* of the farmer who recently was pleased to have a former hired man show up and ask for his old job back. In the subsequent conversation the farmer naturally inquired how his former employee had been doing and the man told him

³These anecdotes of Missouri and Missourians were gathered from the metropolitan newspapers of the State.

he had been working for sixteen months in a war plant getting \$92 a week. "Well, well," said the farmer. "And how much money did you save?" The hired man looked a bit sheepish and then said defensively, "Well, I didn't have to borrow any money to get back. I caught a ride here, clear from Seattle."

A. D. Kaner, 5523 Cabanne avenue, St. Louis, reported that when he dialed a Rosedale number by mistake, a telephone operator informed him:

"Mr. Hitler's telephone service has been discontinued."

President Truman heard a musical satire about his selection of St. Louisans for high positions at a dinner at the exclusive Alfalfa club in Washington D. C. in which he was being initiated in September. The tune was "Meet me in St. Louis, Louie," and referred to Democratic national chairman Robert Hannegan, reconversion chief John W. Snyder, White House press secretary Charles G. Ross, presidential naval aide Commodore J. K. Vardaman, and war surplus property director Stuart Symington.

Bob Hannegan, Snyder and Ross
Reported at once to the Boss
Three men from St. Louis
No friends of Tom Dewey
Just helping put Harry across.
Missouri has now come of age
Her sons hitting every front page
Jake Vardaman too,
Arrived from St. Loo
Then Symington stepped on the stage.

Chorus

Don't meet them in St. Louie, Louie,
Meet them here not there,
When the dear old White House called them
They dug up their fare.
They boarded Greyhound busses
Weren't they the lucky cusses?
You can't meet them in St. Louie, Louie
They're all here, not there.

THE MISSOURI READER THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY

PART II

EDITED BY DOROTHY FENN¹

The settlements (*continued*)

Florissant
Mine a Breton
La Charette
Portage des Sioux
Cote Sans Dessein
New Bourbon
New Madrid
Cape Girardeau
Other settlements
Lay-out of villages
Government
Population (1804)

THE SETTLEMENTS

In the preceeding issue of the *Review*, we mentioned the exceeding beauty and bounty of the Missouri wilderness, the attempts to open the country, and cited for our readers contemporary descriptions and comment on the early French settlements of Rivière des Pères, Fort Orléans, Ste. Geneviève, St. Louis, Carondelet and St. Charles. We now continue the rollcall of Missouri's first villages.

FLORISSANT (1787)

"Four leagues to the north of St. Lewis, and a league from the mouth of the Missouri, a new settlement has been formed, called Florissant [meaning, Blooming or Flourishing], which contains already thirty families, the greater part

¹DOROTHY FENN, a native Missourian, is director of research of the Cleveland Inter-American council. She received her A. B. and B. S. degrees from the University of Missouri, A. M. degree from Columbia university, and Ph. D. degree in 1932 from the University of Wisconsin. She has been employed in government civil service and has taught in several midwestern colleges, including the position as head of the department of modern languages at Drury college, Springfield, Missouri. She has contributed numerous articles to newspapers and periodicals on French and Spanish language and literature.

American, and all good farmers.... A mile west of Florissant is another settlement formed by the French, called Marais des Liards [Marsh of the Cottonwoods], which contains an hundred families."²

"Zenon Trudeau, Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, in a report dated 1798 on 'The settlements of his Catholic Majesty in Ylinoa', numbers San Fernando or Florissant among these settlements and has this to say concerning it: 'The village of San Fernando is located west of the city [St. Louis] inland and distant from it about five leagues. Its population consists of persons of both sexes, including some American plantations. Its cultivation has resulted quite advantageously for some years back and said habitants are very attentive to work, which gives hope that their children will be good planters. There is no parish priest in the village which has plantations in its neighborhood. It would not be a bad thing to send them a priest of the Irish nation. He could also serve the small village of Marais des Liards [i.e., Cotton wood Swamp] which is near by and whose population consists of [no number given in MS] persons. All the young men of this last settlement are hunters, although there are also good planters. It is about eleven years since the villages of San Fernando and Carondelet have been settled by the people of San Luis, who at the present time get a great part of their provisions from these two towns.'"³

Beck's *Gazetteer* mentions St. Ferdinand (Florissant) as 16 miles north of St. Louis, 16 miles from the mouth of the Missouri, "on a beautiful prairie,....very fertile... A species of grape (*vitis aestivalis*) grows in this vicinity, from which the inhabitants make a very good wine."⁴ In 1799 the *Gazetteer* records the inhabitants as numbering 300.

"Florissant would have been more agreeable, if the original inhabitants had not sacrificed every thing to the proximity of a stream, which, however, contains water only half the year. They would live in opulence, if they were

²Collot, Victor, *A Journey in North America*, Vol. I, p. 252.

³Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 247, 249. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

⁴Beck, Lewis C., *A Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 320.

able to exchange, at a reasonable rate, the productions of their lands for clothing and other necessities. The cultivation of tobacco, which the traders are obliged to bring from Lower Louisiana and Kentucky, offered to them a resource; but, like the French peasants, they blindly follow the customs of their ancestors, and are enemies to all innovation.⁵ Francois Borosier Dunegan is said to have commenced the village of Florissant.⁶

MINE A BRETON (ca. 1773)

"Mine a Breton [sometimes spelled Burton] was discovered about 1773, by Francois Azor, alias Breton, 'who, being on a hunt in that quarter, found the ore lying on the surface of the ground.' Azor, alias Breton, was a native of the north of France, born in 1710. . . . Afterward, he came to America, was first stationed at Fort de Chartres and participated in Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. Leaving the army, he became a hunter and miner. A man of robust and powerful constitution, he lived to the extraordinary age of 111 years, and died in 1821. . . . Breton received as compensation for his discovery a grant of only four arpens, but Moses Austin, in 1798, was granted a league square, or about seven thousand arpens of land, adjacent to Mine a Breton, embracing about one-third of the mine, on condition that he erect a smelting furnace and establish a lead factory. In 1775, when the mine was probably discovered, miners from Mine à Renault, Old Mines, Mine La Motte, and other mining centers rushed to the new and rich discovery on Breton creek."⁷ Mine à Breton lay near the present town of Potosi.

⁵Du Lac, Perrin, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas and Among the Savage Nations of the Missouri; also in the United States, Along the Ohio, and the Adjacent Provinces, in 1801, 1802, and 1803.* . . . pp. 48-49.

⁶*Senate Executive Documents*, 26th Cong., 2nd Sess., Doc. 237. "Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River Made by J. N. Nicollet While In Employ Under the Bureau of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, February 16, 1841," p. 83.

⁷Houck, Louis, *A History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 284-285. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

[LA] CHARETTE (ca. 1797)

"Charrette village, at the mouth of Charrette creek, contains 40 or 50 families, [in 1823] which are principally French. It lies in a bend of the Missouri; and opposite to it is a large island, which is very fertile. The distance from this place to St. Charles, is about 40 miles."⁸

"Among the earliest inhabitants of the vanished village of La Charette, we find the name of Joseph Chartran (sometimes misspelled Shattrons), who was the syndic of the settlement, probably a relative of Amable Chartran of Cahokia, and, no doubt, of the family found in Montreal as early as 1668. Joseph Chartran came there from St. Charles. In 1796 he was one of the lot owners of the Upper Prairie. Gass describes La Charette as 'a small French village, situated on the north side' and says that the expedition camped one quarter of a mile above it, and that 'this is the last white settlement of white people on the river.'"⁹

PORTAGE DES SIOUX (1779)

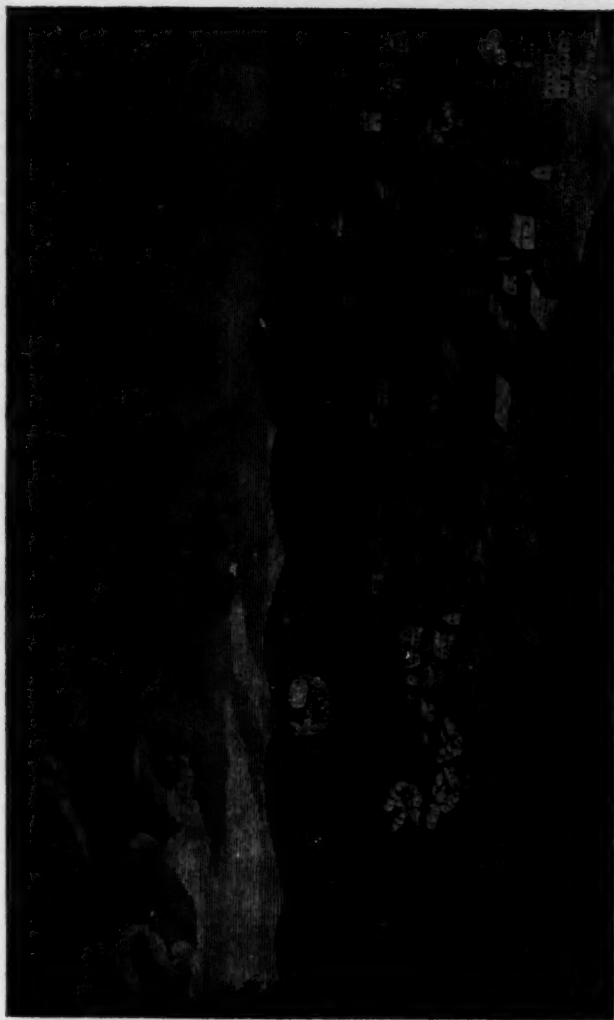
"The most important settlement in the St. Charles district was Portage des Sioux, located on the Mississippi on the tongue of land between this river and the Missouri, and where the Missouri approaches nearest to the Mississippi, north of the mouth of that river. . . . The village of Portage des Sioux was established at the instance of the Spanish authorities in 1799, and to countervail, in the words of Trudeau 'a military post which the Americans intended to form at a place called Paysa', a point near the present site of Alton, not far from the mouth of the Missouri, on the opposite or east bank of the Mississippi. Although no such military establishment was formed there by the Americans, no doubt it was rumored that such an establishment would be made."¹⁰

"An interesting illustration of Spanish activity in obtaining settlers was the settlement of Portage des Sioux

⁸Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 268.

⁹Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 92. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 87-88. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)



Potosi or Mine à Breton. Reproduced from the frontispiece of Henry Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, which were First Traversed by De Soto in 1541.*

by Francois Saucier. At the request of Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau he settled at this location on the Mississippi north-east of St. Charles in 1799, laid out a village and induced many French from the east of the river to settle there. He was instructed to 'offer every facility to form the village and to assign land near it so as to enable the settlers to live at ease and be forever content'. The village was created and Saucier was rewarded for his efforts with a grant of 8,000 arpents of land on the Auhaha (Salt) River."¹¹

COTE SANS DESSEIN (1808)

"The Cote sans Dessein [hill without pattern or shapeless hill], is a beautiful place, situated on the N. E. side of the river, and in sight of the Osage. It will in time become a considerable village. The beauty and fertility of the surrounding country cannot be surpassed. It is here that we met with the first appearance of prairie, on the Missouri, but it is handsomely mixed with wood land. The wooded country on the N. E. extends at least thirty miles, as far up as this place, and not less than fifteen on the other side. The name is given to this place, from the circumstance of a single detached hill filled with limestone, standing on the bank of the river, about six hundred yards long, and very narrow. The village has been established about three years; there are thirteen French families, and two or three of Indians. They have handsome fields in the prairie, but the greater part of their time is spent in hunting. From their eager inquiries after merchandise, I perceived we were already remote from the settlements."¹²

"Cote sans Dessein was visited by Major Stephen Long in July 1819, while he was on his expedition to the Rocky Mountains. James' account of the expedition says: 'The site of the settlement of Cote sans Dessein is remarkable on account of the fertility of the soil, the black mould extending to the depth of about four feet. . . . but the uncertainty of the

¹¹Shoemaker, Floyd C., *Missouri and Missourians, Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements*, Vol. I, p. 115.

¹²Brackenridge, Henri M., *Views of Louisiana, Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River in 1811*, p. 209.

titles, arising from conflicting claims, founded on the basis of the preemption, New Madrid grants and the concession of a large tract opposite the mouth of the Osage made by the Spanish authorities in favor of M. Chouteau, still operates to retard increase of population'. . . . The settlement was founded in 1808 by Jean Baptiste Roy, then of St. Charles, and the date in all probability was close to August 16, the day on which he obtained a deed to 600 arpens of a 4,000-arpens Spanish grant and nine weeks after his ecclesiastical marriage at St. Charles."¹³

NEW BOURBON (1793)

"One of the dependencies of the post of Ste. Genevieve, was the village of Nouvelle Bourbon, located 'on a hill which commands a low point, about one league broad, between the Mississippi and said hill.' This new village was only about two and a half miles from the site of the old village of Ste. Genevieve, and was established by the order of Carondelet in 1793, and so named, he says, 'to put the new settlement under the especial protection of the august sovereign who governs Spain, and also that the descendants of the new colonists may imitate the fidelity and firmness of their fathers towards their king.' It was intended to establish at New Bourbon a number of French royalist families who had settled at Gallipolis [Ohio], but became dissatisfied there."¹⁴

"It [New Bourbon] was separated from Ste. Genevieve and placed under the command of Pierre de Hault Delassus de Luziere, one of the French emigres. Few of them came to the new settlement, however, but the village soon managed to acquire a population of one hundred."¹⁵ Beck's *Gazetteer* in 1823 records that the village contained 50 or 60 houses, and that the inhabitants were principally French.¹⁶

"In 1798 New Bourbon district had a population of 407 persons, there being about twenty families residing in the village. . . .

¹³Bell, Ovid, *Cote Sans Dessein, A History*, pp. 10-11. (Reprinted by permission of the author.)

¹⁴Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 362-363. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

¹⁵Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96.

¹⁶Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 299.

"In 1799 the principal citizens of the New Bourbon district voluntarily made a contribution to aid the king of Spain, of five hundred and sixty-five piastres, and that twelve of the contributors were salt makers on the Saline indicates that salt making was an important business."¹⁷

NEW MADRID (1789)

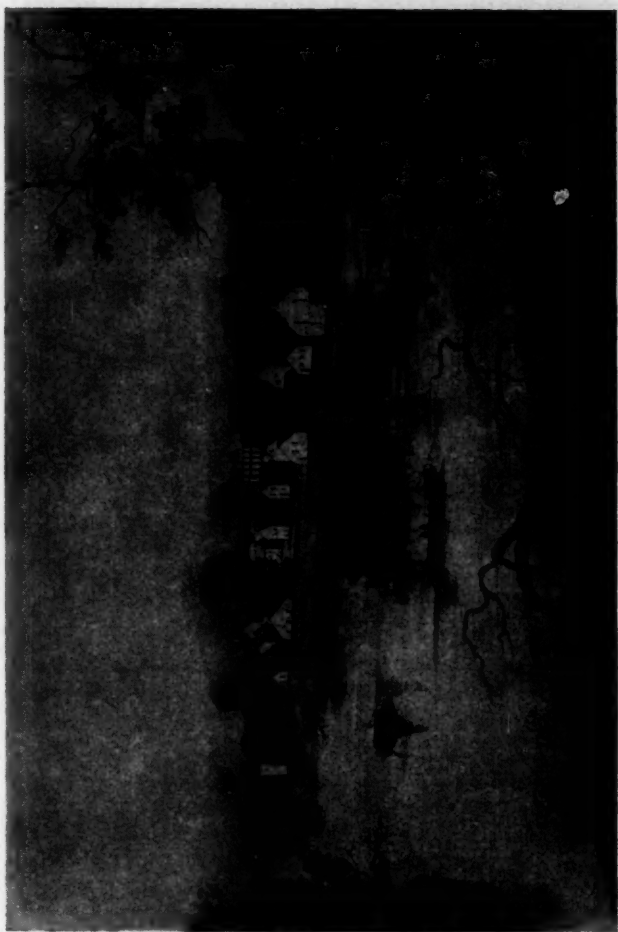
formerly L'ANSE A LA GRAISE (1783)

"On this New Madrid ridge, at many places, the works of the mound-builders were visible. 'The site of the town' says Nuttall, who visited the place in 1818, 'bears unequivocal marks of an aboriginal station, still presenting the remains of some low mounds, which as usual abound with fragments of earth-ware.' Numerous mounds marked the trails and war-paths. Everywhere ancient earth-works and fortifications, many of which have long since been leveled by the plow, were noted by observing and thinking early travelers. A few only, comparatively, of these, protected by the forests, have been preserved. This locality evidently was the favorite habitation of a people which had disappeared before the advent of the Indian."....

"The bend of the river where the town of New Madrid is situate, became known as 'L'Anse à la Graise' — cove of fat or grease," probably because "upon the first settlement of the place, great quantities of bear meat were stored up for the use of the garrison and the French and Spanish navigators up and down the Mississippi, which meat is of a very oleose quality..."

"And this abundance of game and consequent certainty of trade, caused traders to congregate annually at 'L'Anse à la Graise,' at the mouth of the Chepoosa river, and here eventually some of them settled. Among the first settlers were Francois and Joseph Le Sieur, natives of Trois Rivières of Canada. According to Godfrey Le Sieur they were at 'L'Anse à la Graise' in 1783 [possibly also as early as 1780], having been sent there by Gabriel Cerré, the principal mer-

¹⁷Hinchey, Allan, *Stories of Southeast Missouri*, p. 24. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher, Missourian printing and stationery company, Cape Girardeau, Missouri.)



New Madrid, Missouri. Reproduced from a painting by Henry Lewis in his *Das illustrierte Missis-
sippiflora*, facing page 350.

chant, at the time, of St. Louis. But as stated, no doubt at a much earlier period, traders annually came to this locality and it is also certain that some remained there with the Indians. But Francois and Joseph Le Sieur must be considered the founders of the New Madrid settlement."¹⁸ However, the name "New Madrid" was not heard of until the coming of one Colonel Morgan.¹⁹

"In the later years of the eighteenth century, Americans as well as French settlers were drawn to Missouri.... The first American city in the area that now comprises Missouri was New Madrid, founded in 1789, by Colonel George Morgan. Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish ambassador in the United States, had authorized Morgan to locate and survey land for an American colony in the Spanish territory, granting him provisionally a strip of land between Perry County and the mouth of the St. Francis River.

"Morgan planned a model city. Traveling from the East he gathered up his party of seventy settlers and advertised the colony on his way down the Ohio. Near the mouth of the Ohio, he noticed a small French settlement known as L'Anse à la Graise, or 'Cove of Fat', which had been founded about 1780 by Francois and Joseph LeSieur, Canadian trappers. This location he selected for his American City.

"Morgan's plans for a great American city in Spanish territory were destroyed when Governor Miro refused to approve his provisional grant...."²⁰ The governor also set forth other requirements which Morgan felt his colonists would not find satisfactory.

It would seem, then, that the American city, New Madrid, was located by Morgan at the point "where the river Chepoussa joins the Mississippi,"²¹ which would place it at almost the identical spot where the early traders used to meet at L'Anse à la Graise.

¹⁸Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 105-106. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 112. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²⁰Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. I, p. 96.

²¹Saville, Max, *George Morgan, Colony Builder*, p. 211.

Collot was not so impressed with the advantages of this spot. "The river, which by its direction strikes with force upon this perpendicular bank, carries away, at different periods of the year, a considerable quantity of the ground on which the town and fort are built; this ground being composed of earth, washed down by the waters, is easily dissolved, and extends twelve miles inland, without changing either its nature or its level. Nothing can hinder this destructive effect, which will continue until the river in its progress reaches a layer of primitive earth; or rather, the glacia of the chain of heights which runs in a parallel direction with it, but at twelve or fifteen miles from its actual bed. . . . The whole country around New Madrid and the parts adjacent, being, as we have just observed, quite flat, and without any slope for the draining of the waters which are left in seasons of inundation, a great quantity of morasses and pools are formed around it, which render this spot extremely unhealthy; putrid fevers and agues are very prevalent from the month of June till November. There are about one hundred families in this town, the greater part of which are French, and can each furnish a man capable of bearing arms; but the Spaniards have so little dependence on them, on account of their attachment to France, that when the attack on Upper Louisiana by Genet was projected, Mr. de Bostel, commander of this post, stopped up the holes of the cellars, to hinder the militia from hiding themselves. We had this account from Mr. de Bostel himself."²²

CAPE GIRARDEAU (1793)

"Before a settlement was established on the Mississippi within the limits of the present county of Cape Girardeau, this stretch of the river was designated on the old maps as 'Cap Girardot,' and so known to voyageurs passing up and down the river. . . . How this locality received the name of 'Cape Girardot' cannot now be definitely known. It is conjectured by Mason that the name is derived from that of an ensign of the French troops named 'Girardot,' who as

²²Collot, *A Journey in North America*, Vol. II, pp. 17-19.

early as 1704 was stationed at Kaskaskia. The supposition is that a person named 'Girardot' removed from Kaskaskia to the west side of the river and took up his residence in the charming woodlands extending to the water's edge on the promontory above the present town, trading and trafficking there with the Indians, and that thus the name was bestowed on this river promontory by the early voyageurs."²³ The name is variously spelled "Girardeau," also "Girardo," and even "Gerardeau."²⁴

"... Where the last outrunners of the Ozarks gently slope in a southeastern direction to the river and the low lands of the St. Francois basin, a region, at the time of which we speak, full of game and fur-bearing animals of every variety, Louis Lorimier established his trading post in 1793."²⁵ "He received a grant of land in 1795 and established himself at the site of Cape Girardeau. There was no village laid out there, and on arriving settlers just obtained their land concession and built their cabin. Most of the settlers were Americans. The land in the area was not far different from that in their native homes in Virginia, Kentucky, or North Carolina, and it attracted settlers from that region. When the district grew Lorimier was made commandant, holding that position until the transfer of the country to the United States. The district grew rapidly in population and by 1799 there were about 416 whites and 105 slaves in the area."²⁶

"... Louis Lorimier established himself in 1793 under authority of Baron de Carondelet, as follows:

... 'Know all men by these presents, that in consideration of the true and faithful services which Louis Lorimier has rendered to the State since he became a subject of his Catholic Majesty, we permit him to establish himself with the Delawares and Shawnees, who are under his care, in such places as he may think proper in the province of Louisiana on the west bank of the Mississippi, from the Missouri to the river Arkansas, which may be unoccupied, with the right to hunt, and cultivate for the

²³Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 168. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²⁴Stoddard, *Amos, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 214.

²⁵Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 169. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²⁶Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. I, p. 97.

maintenance of their families, nor shall any commandant, officer, or other subject of the King hinder them, nor occupy of the land for him and the said Indians, sown, planted or laid out, so much as is judged necessary for their maintenance; and be it further understood that in case they should remove elsewhere, the said lands shall become vacant, and as for the house, which the said Sir Louis Lorimier has built at Girardeau, it will remain in his possession, nor can he be removed for any causes, except those of illicit trade, or correspondence with the enemies of the State.

'In testimony of which we have given these presents, signed with our hand and the countersign of the secretary of the Government, and caused to be affixed our official seal at New Orleans, the 4th of January, 1793.

The Baron de Carondelet.

By order of the Governor: Andres Lopez Armesto.'

Under this broad and extensive grant Lorimier exercised control over these Indians in the territory between the Missouri and Arkansas until the change of government."²⁷

In 1796 General Collot found Cape Girardeau an excellent location for a military post to dominate the river.

"Cape Girardeau is, therefore, so situated as to supply what is wanting on the right bank of the Mississippi, at the point which corresponds to the mouth of the Ohio. Placed at forty-three miles and an half only above its mouth; this point commands whatever issues from that river, and covers perfectly on this side the place of St. Louis, from which it could receive succour in twenty-four hours. This leads us to think that the true station of the galleys is at this spot, where there is a fort respectable enough to protect them.

"The importance of this post did not escape M. Laurimier, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, whose military talents and great influence with the Indian nations are very useful to this power. He has established himself there with the Chawanons and the Loups, whom he commands, and has a very fine farm, on which he resides.

"The river in great floods rises here as high as seventy feet."²⁸

²⁷Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 170. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²⁸Collot, *A Journey in North America*, Vol. I, pp. 218-219.

OTHER SETTLEMENTS

"Some writers, in listing the temporary white settlements in Missouri in the first third of the eighteenth century, name also the cabanage à Renaudière, Mine La Motte, the mines of the Meramec, Mine à Renault, and Vieilles Mines, or Old Mines. There is a question, of course, as to whether these were settlements at all or merely temporary camps."²⁹ For Vieilles Mines there is a recorded grant dated 1803. There was also St. Michaels, settled about 1800, near the present Fredericktown. A small community called Bellevue lay 50 miles west of Ste. Genevieve, and 10 miles southwest of Potosi. Beck reports in 1823 that it "contains a large body of first rate farming land, and its population is rapidly increasing. Iron and lead ore is very abundant in the vicinity."³⁰

In the St. Louis region were settlers along the Creve Coeur creek, at Point Labadie, and on the Bon-Homme creek, to the west of St. Louis. On the Missouri, west of St. Louis the little village of St. André was established in 1798. "St. Andrews creek, a small stream of St. Louis county, falls into the Missouri, above Bon Homme creek. On this creek is a very ancient settlement made by the French. In 1799, it contained 392 inhabitants, since which time it has been greatly increased by Americans."³¹

Little Prairie, near Caruthersville, was established by Francois LeSieur, one of the founders of New Madrid.

On the origin of the name Creve Coeur, two suggestions have been made. "One is that, after the overflow of the Missouri river in 1796, there was much sickness and many people died, the survivors abandoning broken-hearted; the other is that the loneliness [of the region] was so oppressive to the wife of Alex Bellissime, one of the settlers, that when asked about her new home she replied, "C'est un vrai crève-cœur—it is a real heartbreaker".³²

²⁹Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. I, p. 86.

³⁰Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 260.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 316.

³²Violette, Eugene M., *A History of Missouri*, pp. 43-44. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher, D. C. Heath and company.)

[illegible]

LAY-OUT OF VILLAGES

"In the following year, 1765, so large a number came over from the east side, with several families from Ste. Genevieve and New Orleans, and built their houses on lots assigned them verbally by Laclede, that the village seemed to spring into existence, as it were, all at once, in this and the following year;.... Many of those coming over from the other side brought with them not only all they possessed that was movable, but in numerous instances even dismantling their houses and bringing the doors and windows, planking, in fact everything that could be removed, leaving but the logs and chimneys....

"The three first and most essential steps to be taken by each newcomer on this side, were:

First. To procure a village lot and put up a house or temporary cabin for the shelter of his family.

Second. To provide a commons for the joint security of their live stock. For this purpose a large tract of land lying southwest of the new village, well timbered and watered, with good pasturage, was set apart, and a portion of it enclosed at once by the united labor of those to be benefited by the use of it.

Third. To set aside another suitable tract for cultivation as common fields the next year, their breadstuffs for the present year being brought over from the other side; this common field tract lay northwest of the village, the land in that direction being better adapted for cultivation, and largely prairie land."³³

These words concerning the "essential steps" to be taken by newcomers to the village of St. Louis, might be applied to settlers in any of the communities inhabited by the French.

"The French settlers generally lived in villages, and these common fields were adjacent or near such villages, and during the farming season, they went out daily to attend to their agricultural labors."³⁴ "As the agriculture of Ste. Genevieve,

³³Billon, Frederic L., *Annals of St. Louis In Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, pp. 20-22.

³⁴Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 234. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

is carried on more extensively, than in any of the other villages, I shall take this opportunity of giving a description of it. One fence encloses the whole village field, and this is kept up at the common expense. The river side is left open, the steepness of the bank rendering any enclosure unnecessary. This field is divided into a number of small lots, of an equal size; a certain number of arpents in front, and a certain number in depth. The more wealthy possess and cultivate several of these lots, while some of the poorer class do not own one entire. But nearly all the inhabitants have a share in them; they were ceded by the Spanish government, as an appendage to the possession of every residenter in the village. This mode has been practiced from the earliest settlements on both sides of the Mississippi, and perhaps had its origin from necessary precaution against the Indians. Their agricultural labors commence in the month of April, when the inhabitants, with their slaves, are seen going and returning, each morning and evening, for eight or ten days, with their ploughs, carts, horses, &c. The ground is broken up with a kind of wheel plough, which enters deep into the soil.... There is a great contrast between the lots cultivated by the Americans, and those of the creoles; pains are taken to keep them clear of weeds, and this is rewarded by a crop of at least one third greater.... After the harvest is completed, the barriers of the fields are opened, and all the cattle of the village permitted to be turned in. Horses put into the field before this period, (for each one has generally a part of his lot in grass) are tied to long ropes, which are fastened to stakes.

"Besides the lots, in the great field, the principal inhabitants, have of late years, opened plantations, within some miles of the town, and the greater part of the stock formerly seen about this place, has been removed to the country farms: in consequence of which, the passengers are enabled to go through the streets without danger of being jostled by horses, cows, hogs, and oxen, which formerly crowded them."²⁵

²⁵Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 127, 128.

"In St. Louis the farm lots of the common field, as surveyed by Duralde, all had a front of one arpent, and a depth of forty arpents, an arpent being equal to 192 feet and six inches — English measure. The arpent was both a quantitative and linear measure under the French system. Traditionally, it is said, the lands were thus surveyed so that the settlers might be near each other in case of Indian attacks. It is also said, that the custom originated to save fencing, because enclosing large fields under a common fence undoubtedly saves fencing. But fencing could be saved by surveying the land into more convenient bodies. Perhaps the French custom of surveying land in long and narrow strips, from one to four arpents wide, originated on the lower Mississippi or on the St. Lawrence. On the lower Mississippi, because under the rules and ordinances in force, each settler was required to maintain the levee in front of his ground, both under the French and Spanish dominion. As all lands granted to the first settlers fronted on the river, this system equitably apportions the burden of the maintenance of the levees. On the St. Lawrence, surveys may have been made in this shape to secure all the settlers an equal waterfront, in that colony a matter of prime importance to the early pioneers. Whatever the origin of the custom, as a fact not only the common fields of St. Louis, but the common fields of Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon, St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, and Carondelet were divided into long and narrow strips with a common front.... These common fields were under the supervision of a syndic and a committee of umpires, whose duty it was to carefully examine the fences and report to the syndic. The common fences were generally viewed on a Sunday in January, and required to be of such character that cattle could not get out of, or into, the common field."³⁸

"....The Cahokia commons was a direct grant to the Fathers of the Foreign Missions or of the Seminary of Quebec, who remained in pastoral charge of Cahokia from 1699 until 1763, when Reverend Forget du Verger, the last of their representatives, departed for France. The title to the

³⁸Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 233-234. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

Commons of Kaskaskia and the other early French villages vested either in the villagers or parishioners. The Commons of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and of Prairie du Rocher, after they had ceased to serve as common pasture and woodland for the inhabitants of the respective villages, were in later days subdivided into farmlands and leased as such. The funds thus derived from the leases served to support the schools and church."³⁷ However, in the case of Cahokia, "the beneficiaries of this grant are neither the villagers nor the parishioners, but the missionaries of the Cahokias and the Tamarois."³⁸

Speaking of the common-field of Ste. Genevieve, Schultz says: "The prairie, which is here denominated the Big Field, contains about fifteen thousand acres of natural meadow, rich and level as the planter could wish. This is surveyed out into lots of eighty and a hundred acres or more, and owned by almost every person in the town. . . . The manner of using and improving their respective lots is regulated by law and custom; so that any person who permits his lot to lie idle, or who gets his crops in before his neighbours, cannot derive any benefit or advantage from turning in his cattle, as this is only allowed to be done on a certain day appointed, when the gates are thrown open, and the whole prairie becomes a rich and well-foddered common for the cattle of the whole community. This custom is likewise observed at most of the French settlements in this country."³⁹

Concerning Carondolet, Beck has this to say: "It is regularly laid out in squares of 300 feet on each side, the houses standing towards the streets, and the interior of the area composed of gardens and orchards. 'To this, as well as the other villages, was appropriated a large space of ground, and

³⁷Beuckman, Frederick, "The Commons of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 4 (April 1919), pp. 405-408. (Reprinted by permission of the Institute of Jesuit history, Loyola university, Chicago, Illinois.)

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 408. (Reprinted by permission of the Institute of Jesuit history, Loyola university, Chicago, Illinois.)

³⁹Schultz, Christian, *Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New-Orleans, performed in the Years 1807 and 1808*, Vol. II, pp. 54-55.

fenced in the form of a parallelogram. In this space, allotments are laid out, corresponding in number and relative magnitude with the town lots. These allotments extend the whole length of the field, but their magnitude is determined by their breadth, which is marked on one of the fences; being once, or once and a half, or twice, &c. the length of a side of a square arpent of land. In the common fields belonging to Carondelet, these narrow strips are more than a mile and a half in length. . . ."⁴⁰

"The original bounds of St. Louis were narrow. According to the plat of 1764, the trading-post stretched from Chouteau Avenue to Cherry Street, and from the river to near Fourth Street.

"At that time there was no street fronting on the Mississippi, the rear yards of the first line of buildings extended to the edge of the bluffs. Three streets ran parallel with the river. They were Main (or Royal), Church, and Barn Streets.

"The width of these streets was thirty-six French feet. (A French foot was nearly thirteen English inches.) In other villages the streets were sometimes still narrower. The streets of Robertsville were at first only twenty-four feet wide (*Hunt's Minutes*, Vol. II, p. 15).

"Eighteen cross streets ran west from the river. Their width was thirty French feet. (The main streets were all of them laid out to be thirty-six feet—French measure—wide, and all the cross streets were laid out to be thirty feet—French measure—wide. The blocks were generally laid out to be two hundred and forty feet, fronting on the main streets, and running back three hundred feet to the other main street. *Auguste Chouteau*, Sept. 8, 1825; *Hunt's Minutes*, Vol. II, p. 178). Walnut was then called La Rue de la Tour, because it led up to the tower on the hill, and Market was named La Rue de la Place, because it formed the northern border of the Public Square. Only two or three of the other streets running west had distinctive names. They were merely lanes, on which there were no houses. In 1818 the village was divided into forty-nine blocks. Block 7, in the centre

⁴⁰Beck, *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*, p. 265.

of the river-front, was called La Place, or the Public Square. On this vacant space, after the cession to the United States, the first public market-house was built. Block 34, directly west of the Public Square, was selected by Laclede for his own residence. It was on this site that the spacious stone house called the Chouteau mansion was subsequently erected. Block 59, between Second and Third Streets, was reserved for the Catholic Church and cemetery. The blocks between Walnut and Market streets were three hundred French feet square; all the rest of the blocks had a frontage of two hundred and forty by a depth of three hundred French feet. Within the limits of the village the original grants to settlers were commonly restricted to a quarter of a block; a few favored individuals obtained half-blocks, and in three or four instances official distinction, meritorious service, or social dignity secured the concession of a whole block."⁴¹

"The whole village (Greater Sainte Genevieve as the Commercial Club would no doubt phrase it now) included three main divisions: the village proper, residences and streets; a neighboring tract of woodland whence each man cut when and as he saw fit; and the communal field, where a strip of rich bottom land was reserved for each family. About all this extended 'le domaine du roy' from which additional grants might be had for other enterprises.

"The collection of houses we call a village, but the term must be used with this in mind, that here it is not applied as in English to a settlement of artisans and shopkeepers. The village of Sainte Genevieve was a colony of peasants who grouped their cottages after some feudal memory, with protection in mind—a most happy provision in this land of roving Osages. But the villagers were cultivators of the soil, hunters, or miners whose work lay out of the settlement. Therefore there were no inns, no shops as we know shops, not even streets as we know streets. Each house was a farmhouse, with ample grounds, the gardens, orchards, and out-houses pertaining to such an establishment anywhere. Each

⁴¹Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of Saint Louis City and County . . .*, Vol. I, pp. 133-134.

dwelling stood in a certain tract of land. Each property (or two or three properties) made up a kind of town square or 'block', placing 'streets' at right angles. One difference was noted regularly by the Anglo-American traveler or immigrant to whom 'street' meant the wide thoroughfare of New England. The Creole lane was narrow. The settlement was huddled elbow to elbow as if, to make the picture complete, a beetling castle should rise from some eminence in its midst. But these same men who complained of the lack of space were pleased with the picturesqueness, the perfume of age already given off by the village in those days. It was . . . 'somewhat more than one of those western creations which seem to have risen by enchantment'. Earliest Missouri had no street of unpainted shacks, no dust of broncos, no Red Dog Saloon.

"Travelers who spoke of castles were, to be sure, pushing the comparison too far. The feudal was the underlying, not the visible plan. Outwardly the settlement was Creole, native to its Missouri setting. A general description may be drawn from the archives, section 'Deeds'.

"Houses stood somewhat forward in a generous area enclosed with high pointed logs of cedar or oak, in which lay a vegetable garden, (sometimes even a flower garden), an orchard, a barn, a *cabanne a mai* [corn-crib], and a slave cabin."⁴²

GOVERNMENT

"When France first undertook to create a colonial empire beyond the Atlantic, she was undoubtedly the leading nation of Europe. . . . Absolutism and paternalism were the factors which had made France strong in Europe and by which she hoped to lay firm colonial foundations up and down the great central valley of North America."⁴³ The French settler, as he came over, had been content each to receive his small

⁴²Dorrance, Ward A., "The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve," *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 14-15.

⁴³Callan, Louise, "The Political Regime of the French in the Valley of the Mississippi," *Mtd-America*, Vol. XII (New series, Vol. I), No. 1, pp. 10, 13. (Reprinted by permission of the Institute of Jesuit History, Loyola university, Chicago, Illinois.)

town lot, to share the work of upkeep of the village commons, to do his own farming in his plot in the common-field, and to live much after the pattern of his ancestors. "Unlike most other European emigrants, who commonly preferred to settle in sparse settlements, remote from each other, the French manifested in a high degree, at the same time, habits both social and vagrant. They settled in compact villages, altho isolated, in the midst of a wilderness a thousand miles remote from the dense settlements of Canada."⁴⁴

The French and the Spanish had a different attitude towards the land from that of the Anglo-American. The latter has shown a "land hunger" and a "greed",—a desire to get control of the land in the hands of the *people themselves*, who by democratic procedure would then determine government and policies affecting themselves. The French and Spanish were accustomed and content to let the crown own the vast domains; they expected concessions of large extent to go only to a privileged few; perhaps each humble citizen felt that if the ownership vested in the crown, he, as well as his neighbor, held an interest therein, and therefore each felt no need to rush to acquire as much as possible for himself. On the other hand, the Anglo-American drew on the tradition where ownership of land denoted position, wealth, power. And here, in a new country, each intended to secure for himself as much landed-property as he could, to make of his children "gentlemen", to give them that power and security which only the landed gentry back home had possessed.

"I own here a far better estate than I rented in England, and am already more attached to the soil. Here, every citizen, whether by birthright or adoption, is part of the government, identified with it, not *virtually*, but in fact; and eligible to every office, with one exception, regarding the Presidency, for which a birthright is necessary.

"I love this government; and thus a novel sensation is excited: it is like the development of a new faculty. I am

⁴⁴Monette, John W., *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi* . . . , Vol. I, pp. 182-183.

become a patriot in my old age: thus a new virtue will spring up in my bosom."⁴⁶

In the French and in the Spanish existed a communal spirit as contrasted with the strong individualism of the English settlers. From the days of the Magna Charta the rights of the individual were voiced in England; yet, although the Renaissance preached "individual human worth", still on the continent, it took the French Revolution to bring to the front the rights of man.

"The laws of the French settlements in Illinois [hence also in Missouri] were based upon the same great Roman code which underlay the jurisprudence of all the south of Europe. But some considerations, either of expediency or liberality, caused the substitution of allodial titles to land [titles showing land held in absolute independence] for the feudal tenures of Canada; that is, the settlers were permitted to own land very much as a New England farmer owns it, instead of being obliged to hold it at the pleasure of the feudal lord. . . ."⁴⁶

"Titles derived immediately from the crown, or those sanctioned by the superior authority at New Orleans, were deemed *complete*. But these formed a very small proportion of the whole. *Incomplete titles* were those derived from the naked concessions of the lieutenant governor, or of the commandants, and unsanctioned by the highest representative of the crown at the capital of the province. These formed more than nineteen twentieths of the whole; the people felt secure under their concessions, and most of them were too poor to defray the expenses of their ratification."⁴⁷ Ratification necessitated a trip to New Orleans, and the difficulties of intercourse between the posts in Upper Louisiana and New Orleans were so great, that few were willing to encounter them, especially as the formalities of a complete title seemed in the minds of the people to vest no more right than was acquired when incomplete." Quality and location of land were the principal con-

⁴⁶Birkbeck, Morris, *Letters from Illinois*, p. 29.

⁴⁷Milburn, William H., *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 136-137.

⁴⁸Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 245.

cern; but little importance was attached to the fact that the title was incomplete.⁴⁸

"All grants and concessions of lands included a number of conditions, either expressed or implied. In Upper Louisiana the proprietor was obliged to clear some land, and to build a house within a year and a day, or his claim was forfeited, and liable to revert to the domain, or if he at any time abandoned the country without permission to dispose of his property, the same consequence ensued."⁴⁹

"With respect to its immense extent only a very small portion of Louisiana belongs to private individuals; the rest of this vast province belongs to the King, who can, as he wills, give vast concessions to thousands of inhabitants without fear that he will ever be lacking in land . . ."⁵⁰

"Investigators of St. Louis land titles claim that in 1765, M. Abry, the then Governor of the French province of Louisiana, gave to M. St. Ange de Bellerive, commandant of the post of St. Louis, authority to grant (make grants in) the royal domain."⁵¹

Under the Spanish, the government of Louisiana was highly military, concentrated in the governor general in New Orleans, and in the lieutenant governor, his local representative for Upper Louisiana, in residence at St. Louis. "Retaining within itself the civil and judicial powers, the delegate of the government may be either good or bad, just or unjust, abuse his authority, or keep himself within the limits of his office."⁵²

"When the territory came in possession of the Spanish Government, Piernas, the Lieutenant Governor, confirmed all the grants made by St. Ange. A surveyor was appointed,

⁴⁸*House Executive Documents*, 23d Congress, 1st Sess., 1834, Doc. No. 79, "Private Land Claims in Missouri," p. 8.

⁴⁹Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 246.

⁵⁰Nasatir, Abraham P. and Liljegren, Ernest R., "Materials Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley from the Minutes of the Spanish Supreme Councils of State, 1787-1797," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (January 1938), p. 59. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

⁵¹*Glimpses of the Past*, Vol. IV, Nos. 10-12 (October-December 1937), pp. 121-122. (Reprinted by permission of the Missouri historical society, St. Louis, Missouri.)

⁵²Du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas and Among the Savage Nations of the Missouri* . . . , p. 57.

and he assigned lands to parties petitioning for them, and also originated a system of confirming and making grants that continued for twenty-five years or longer."⁵³ "There are no instances of the Spanish government ever selling lands out of the royal domain in Louisiana. Lands were not only given away but they were exempted from taxation."⁵⁴

The French authorities continued to concede lands until May 1770 when Spain took possession of Upper Louisiana under the Treaty of 1763. "When O'Reilly took possession of the colony, he recommended to the King of Spain that the Governor alone be authorized to make such grants."⁵⁵

"In the ordinances of Gayoso [1798], for the first time, reference was made to the Illinois country. In his ordinances, it is provided that, 'In the Illinois, none shall be admitted but Catholics, of the class of farmers and artisans. They must also possess some property and must not have served in any public character in the country from which they come. The provisions of the preceding article shall be explained to the immigrants already established in the province who are not Catholics, and shall be observed by them, they not having done it until this time, being an omission and contrary to the orders of his Majesty, which required it from the beginning', and 'To every new settler answering the foregoing description and married, there shall be granted two hundred arpens of lands. Fifty arpens shall be added for every child he shall bring with him, and in addition, twenty arpens for every negro that he shall bring.'"⁵⁶ Land was not granted to unmarried men, and it was necessary to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Spain.

"There is another class of people in certain numbers who are no less indispensable in the new establishments than in the more advanced colonies. This is the class of artisans.

⁵³*Glimpses of the Past*, Vol. IV, Nos. 10-12 (October-December 1937), pp. 121-122. (Reprinted by permission of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri.)

⁵⁴Violette, Eugene M., "Spanish Land Claims in Missouri," *Washington University Studies*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 171. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

⁵⁵Houck, *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 214-215. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 215.

These men, almost always indigent, would need some anticipated help, something to encourage them and to insure a means of constructing their shops."⁸⁷

"Land policy was a basic factor in the economic organization of the Missouri-Illinois country. Due to the necessity of promoting immigration, Spain turned from her customary policy of permitting only Spanish and Catholics to enter her colonies. . . . A further adaptation of Spanish colonial policy was decided upon when Americans were invited. . . . They were promised large grants, and commercial privileges, if they would but take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish Crown and to the Roman Catholic Church."⁸⁸ Spain seems to have recognized that the Anglo-American looked upon the land in a more possessive sense. "The liberal Spanish land policy, as contrasted with the communal life of the French period, was a real factor in encouraging economic enterprise."⁸⁹

An interesting corollary to the different systems under which the French and American settlers lived, is the absence or presence of local courts of law. "Of statute and common law, courts and attorneys, fees and pleadings, these fortunate people [the French of Illinois] knew nothing. . . . No courts of law were established there until after the country passed into the possession of the British; and after they were established, no actions were brought before them until after the Anglo-Americans possessed the land. The sour, pugnacious litigations, as well as that much vaunted but very doubtful institution, the trial by jury, of the English, were an evil and a remedy equally foreign and terrible to the kindly disposition of the French."⁹⁰

In each district "the Commandant was the sole civil authority. Before him was held the civil ceremony of marriage. With him wills were filed. Immediately upon the

⁸⁷Nasatir and Liljegren, "Materials Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley," p. 59. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

⁸⁸Espinosa, J. Manuel, "Spanish Louisiana and the West, The Economic Significance of the Ste. Genevieve District," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (April 1938), p. 291.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁹⁰Milburn, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 137.

death of an inhabitant he visited the house, put all belongings under seal, and soon after, aided by his *ecrivain* [clerk], inventoried the property. . . . He frequently acted as representative of an absent heir, or as guardian for a minor. It was he who forbade the gift or sale of *taffia* [liquor made of molasses] to slaves, who issued papers of identification, who referred petitions for land concessions to Saint Louis. . . ."⁶¹

The commandant was also civil judge and chief of militia. In matters affecting an entire community, he presided over the election of *syndics*, whose decision in the matter in hand must be followed.

"Perhaps in no country were aggravated crimes more rare than in Louisiana. The contrary of this might have been expected from the different languages, religions, and customs of the people: especially from the constant accession of various descriptions of new settlers. Two reasons may be assigned for this general exemption from crimes. The first is, that the Creole inhabitants were rather peaceable in their dispositions, perhaps more so as they were educated in the habits of obedience to the laws, which seldom suffered the guilty to escape with impunity. Besides, the French attached much more disgrace to punishments than any other people. . . . The second is, that the terrors of the magistrate, the frightful apprehension of the Mexican mines, and the dungeons of the Havanna, added to the supposed antipathy of the government to all strangers, awed the settlers from the United States into submission and produced an uncommon degree of subordination among them."⁶²

"The laws and customs relating to marriages were those of Paris and Castile, designated 'a community of interest,'—that is to say, unless otherwise specified in the civil contract, whatever property either party possessed before marriage made a common fund to be equally enjoyed by both. On the death of either party intestate, the survivor was entitled to one-half of the estate, and the children of the marriage, if any, the other half; if no children, then the heirs of the de-

⁶¹Dorrance, "The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve," p. 30.

⁶²Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 282.

ceased party,—such as parents, brothers and sisters, etc.,—hence it was customary upon the death of a married person to proceed at once to take an inventory of his or her effects. If so specified in the contract, the survivor could elect to 'renounce' the community of interest, and withdraw whatever amount he or she may have put in. This did not prevent either party from leaving to the survivor the whole of the property where there were no children, which was the usual course, but in all cases where there were children they were to have one-half collectively. This was the civil marriage, the parties being afterwards united with the rites of the church by the parish priest....

"In the case of wills, where the party, from sickness or other disability, could not appear before him [the commandant] in his office, it was made his duty to repair to the bedside of the sick person and there have the will executed and attested in his presence."⁸³

"During the thirty-four years of Spanish authority [1770-1804] succeeding the first six years of French rule, the place [St. Louis] continued to be French in every essential but the partial use of Spanish in a few official documents; the intercourse of the people with each other and their governors, their commerce, trade, habits, customs, manners, amusements, marriages, funerals, services in church, parish registers, everything was French; the governors and officers all spoke French, it was a *sine qua non* in their appointment; the few Spaniards that settled in the country soon became Frenchmen and married French wives; no Frenchman became a Spaniard; two or three of the governors were Frenchmen by birth; the wives of the Gov. Piernas and Trudeauu were French ladies...."⁸⁴

⁸³Billion, *Annals of St. Louis In Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, pp. 88-89.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

POPULATION

"It was customary under the Spanish government for each district to furnish an annual census of the inhabitants with the number of births and deaths, the number of swine, cattle, and horses on hand, the various articles provided by agriculture and industry, as also those exported. The persons employed to furnish the census never took the pains to be accurate; and in consequence... the population was probably underrated.... So we have no precise data for the population in 1804. It was, however, the general opinion at the latter period, that it exceeded eleven thousand."⁶⁵

"The total population of Upper Louisiana at the time of the Purchase was about 10,000 with 1,500 slaves. It had increased about fifty per cent between 1800 and 1804. The majority of the increase represented Americans. By this period settlers of American origin were probably more numerous than French, with fifteen per cent of the population slaves."⁶⁶

"The following table gives the more important totals for the last three census which have been preserved complete and Stoddard's estimate."⁶⁷

⁶⁵Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, pp. 225-226.

⁶⁶Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. I, p. 101.

⁶⁷Viles, Jonas, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 4 (July 1911), p. 212.

Date	Whites	Freed-men	Slaves	Total	District
1796	457	.....	42	499	New Madrid
	788	50	318	1156	Ste. Genevieve
	1177	42	303	1522	St. Louis
	388	.....	17	405	St. Charles
	2810	92	680	3582	Totals for Upper La.
1799	757	.....	74	831	New Madrid
	416	105	.....	521	Cape Girardeau
	1081	4	424	1509	Ste. Genevieve
	1854	88	330	2272	St. Louis
	840	.....	55	895	St. Charles
	4948	197	883	6028	Totals for Upper La.
1800	690(990?)	.....	116	806(1106?)	New Madrid
	626	.....	114	740	Cape Girardeau
	1326	7	459	1792	Ste. Genevieve
	1980	70	417	2467	St. Louis
	1021	.....	89	1110	St. Charles
	5643(5943?)	77	1195	6915(7215?)	Totals for Upper La.
1804	1350	.....	150	1500	New Madrid
	1470	.....	"few"	(1650)	Cape Girardeau
	2350	.....	520	2870	Ste. Genevieve
	2280	.....	500	2780	St. Louis
	1400	.....	150	1550	St. Charles
	9020	.....	1320	(10340)	Stoddard's Totals
	8850	.....	(1500)	(10350)	Totals for Upper La.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS**MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP**

During the three months from August through October 1945, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Rivers, Ernest, New Orleans, Louisiana

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Boogher, Lawrence, St. Louis
Smith, Frederick M., Independence
Winkelmaier, Robert C., St. Louis

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Hallock, E. O., Kansas City
Harty, H. L., Sikeston
Henderson, Charles H., Kansas City

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Ryle, Walter H., Kirksville
Schmidt, G. R., St. Louis

ONE NEW MEMBER

Allen, Birt S., Bethany
Baker, Henry, St. Joseph
Barriger, John W., Chicago, Illinois
Benton, Carlton R., Kansas City
Branham, Robert T., Atlanta,
Georgia
Coon, Walter A., Springfield
Davis, Mrs. Paul R., New London
Hobbs, Mrs. John, Jefferson City
Hoenny, Adolph M., St. Louis
Huff, Lottie M., St. Louis
Hunter, Stephen B., Cape Girar-
deau

Keeley, Mary Paxton, Columbia
Leinhard, J. H., Slater
Melom, Halvor G., Columbia
Morrison, J. O., Nevada
Pigg, E. L., Jefferson City
Pohlman, J. Harry, St. Louis
Scarritt, W. H., Kansas City
Schmid, Otto, Kansas City
Settle, Raymond W., Lexington
Trauernicht, Carl, St. Louis
Walter, H. S., Columbia
Walter, Mrs. Mayme, Butler
Winkler, A. G., New York, New
York

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

August-October 1945

Two hundred twenty-three applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from August to October 1945, inclusive. The total annual membership as of October 31, 1945 is 3993.

The new members are:

- | | |
|--|---|
| Adrian Public Schools, Adrian | Camp, E. E., Monett |
| Allen, Alva F., Clinton | Campbell, Stephen B., Carthage |
| Allen, William, Nevada | Carpenter, G. A., Kansas City |
| Alson, William, Carthage | Carroll, W. Oscar, Sikeston |
| Angus, Tom, Kirksville | Carroll, Ruth M., Carthage |
| Arnold, George J., Ansell | Carter, Glenn, Carthage |
| Bacon, Fay D., Poplar Bluff | Casey, S. A., Lebanon |
| Bairs, Max, New York, New York | Clinton, Lloyd B., Carthage |
| Baker, Mrs. Grover C., Sikeston | Coker, Joe B., Neosho |
| Baker, Mary Helen, St. Louis | Conell, James E., Jr., Neosho |
| Barkovitz, B. H., Hayti | Cook, Iva Jean, Carthage |
| Barrett, William E., Denver, Colorado | Cornish, E. S., Neosho |
| Barron, Mr. and Mrs. J. W., Charleston | Cornwall, H. H., Charleston |
| Barton, S. I., Carthage | Cox, Myron W., Neosho |
| Bass, O. W., Cassville | Crader, E. Earl, Diehlstadt |
| Bear, Ben L., Jr., St. Louis | Crews, Gideon, Holland |
| Bell, Fred I., Kansas City | Crowdus, William W., Webster Groves |
| Bell, Olin, Bowling Green | Crowe, Charles M., St. Louis |
| Bennington, F. W., Cassville | Curry, J. L., Sedalia |
| Bice, R. S., Oran | Dalton, G. W., Poplar Bluff |
| Bishoff, Paul E., Kansas City | Daniels, C. A., Cassville |
| Bishop, Henry S., Amarillo, Texas | Davis, J. R., Nevada |
| Blachert, A. E., Kansas City | Davis, Robert W., Blackwater |
| Blanchard, R. V., Nevada | Deemer, W. E., Carthage |
| Bodine, R. H., Carthage | Dennison, J. W., Carthage |
| Bomer, A. L., Poplar Bluff | Duhme, Ruth Frances, Clayton |
| Bowman, Lee, Sikeston | Dulin, Irene L., St. Louis |
| Brayman, C. H., Neosho | Edwards, Mrs. Janette S., Kansas City |
| Brewer, B. Grinstead, Charleston | Elliott, Paul B., Independence |
| Brown, Mrs. R. W., Carrollton | Ewald, Gertrude, Kansas City |
| Brown, Troy F., Nevada | Fairbanks, P. G., Independence |
| Bussell, Walter L., Neosho | Farber, Arnold, Neosho |
| Cameron Public Schools, Cameron | Favrot, H. Mortimer, New Orleans, Louisiana |
| Camfield, A. R., Neosho | |

- Favrot, H. Richmond, New Orleans
Louisiana
- Favrot, Saint Clair, Baton Rouge,
Louisiana
- Fenton, Mrs. Wyatt
- Finney, W. O., Chaffee
- Fite, Kenneth, Carthage
- Fortier, James J. A., New Orleans,
Louisiana
- Francis, Ruth Garton, Bethany
- Frederick, J. V., Parkville
- Gardner, H. A., Monett
- Garfinkle, S. J., Poplar Bluff
- Garrison, E. N., Carthage
- George, John B., Seattle, Washing-
ton
- Gesner, Walter A., Neosho
- Gibson, Mrs. John Guy, Jefferson
City
- Gillioz, M. E., Monett
- Gray, Leslie C., Kansas City
- Grice, John R., Port Huron, Mich-
igan
- Grissom, R. C., Carthage
- Guinn, Charles B., Carthage
- Guinn, R. C., Carthage
- Guhleman, Hy., Jefferson City
- Gurley, Mrs. F. G., Winnetka,
Illinois
- Haas, Charles E., Neosho
- Hageman, E. K., Webster Groves
- Hamra, Sam F., Steele
- Harper, Mrs. J. Ernest, Sikeston
- Haworth, J. L., Poplar Bluff
- Hayden, C. V., Kansas City
- Hays, Paul, Neosho
- Henderson, Charles H., Kansas
City
- Hendrickson, James, Poplar Bluff
- Hennick, Chester, Neosho
- Hilmer, August C., University City
- Hix, E. D., Lexington
- Hoffmann, W. E., Nevada
- Horine, Hershall F., Cassville
- Horton, Mrs. Charles, Hume
- Howard, Roscoe R., Slater
- Hudler, Edna, St. Louis
- Huff, Merrifield M., Bonne Terre
- Hurst, Mrs. Alyce, New Orleans,
Louisiana
- Jack, J. J., Neosho
- Jackson, Floyd M., Neosho
- Jeffers, W. B., Neosho
- Jennings School District, St. Louis
- Johnson, Leo H., Neosho
- Keeley, Mrs. Mary Paxton, Colum-
bia
- Keller, P. N., Chaffee
- Kennedy, Marvin G., Henrietta
- King, C. H., Carthage
- Klein, Samuel, Ladue
- Klupe, Helen M., St. Louis
- Kochner, Rosemary P., St. Louis
- Kratz, C. E., Nevada
- Lair, F. D., Jr., Charleston
- Lamm, D. S., Sedalia
- Lanham, Mrs. B. M., Slater
- Langenberg, Mrs. Oliver M., St.
Louis
- Lawhead, W. T., Carthage
- LeCompte, Norman, Cassville
- Lehew, Robert N., Neosho
- Linn Public Schools, Linn
- Long, Herbert C., Neosho
- Love, Mrs. Hortense, Jefferson City
- McCrite, Ira E., Neosho
- McElroy, Walter F., Carthage
- McGinty, A. C., Neosho
- McGrane, W. J., Neosho
- McKinney, Mrs. F. M., Hickman
Mills
- Matthews, Mrs. Charles D., Jr.,
Sikeston
- Mayer, Mary Helen, Sedalia
- Mayhew, D. S., Monett
- Mechin, Mrs. Jessie Gray, Illmo
- Mermond, Mr. and Mrs. Fred,
Monett
- Miller, George W., Carthage
- Moomaw, Mrs. Leroy, Dickson,
North Dakota
- Mooneyham, Robert A., Carthage
- Morrison, George B., Wichita,
Kansas

- Mortenson, H. D., Klamath Falls, Oregon
 Neustadt, Berthold R., Kansas City
 New London High School, New London
 Nichols, Mrs. Adabelle R., St. Louis
 North, Charles A., Neosho
 Oldham, L. N., Neosho
 O'Sullivan, Maurice J., Kansas City
 Palette, Birdie Lee, Levasy
 Peak, Frank, Nevada
 Phelps, Dean H., Nevada
 Phillips, M. R., Portland, Oregon
 Powers, Everett, Carthage
 Powers, William T., Piedmont
 Purvis, R. H., Poplar Bluff
 Putnam, H. W., Carthage
 Raffety, Hunter, Wyatt
 Ragland, H. P., Atlanta, Georgia
 Ramacciotti, Frank L., St. Louis
 Rankin, J. O., Hayti
 Ray, J. W., Hayti
 Ready, John A., St. Joseph
 Reid, Hugh B., Carthage
 Reuber, H. E., Sikeston
 Reynolds, C. G., Neosho
 Reynolds, G. A., Springfield
 Reynolds, G. H., Boonville
 Rice, Herbert F., Jefferson City
 Rivers, Ernest, New Orleans, Louisiana
 Roberts, T. N., Carthage
 Rollins, Harry, Carthage
 Roper, J. D., Springfield
 Ruark, Justin, Neosho
 Rubenstein, H. M., Springfield
 Rubow, C. W., Seligman
 Russell, K. L., Neosho
 Ryan, John J., Kansas City
 St. Johns High School library, St. Louis
 Sarratt, B. C., Independence
 Sass, M. J., Springfield
 Savage, Dan B., Sr., Springfield
 Scholes, Walter V., Columbia
 Schwab, Irving, Springfield
 Schweiger, Irl L., Washington, D. C
 Self, W. F., Springfield
 Shaner, M. C., St. Louis county
 Shea, William J., St. Louis
 Slusher, H. E., Lexington
 Smalley, G. S., Springfield
 Smart, Wilbur, University City
 Smith, A. G., Nevada
 Smith, Logan, Neosho
 Smith, Marc Jack, Columbia
 Strother, A. P., Jr., Searcy, Arkansas
 Tieman, Chester L., University City
 Tinsley, John B., Carthage
 Turner, Warren M., Springfield
 University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
 Vater, Mrs. Cel., Enid, Oklahoma
 Vineyar, Jerry J., Nevada
 Wasson, F. E., Neosho
 Watson, Ray E., Webb City
 Wear, Sam M., Kansas City
 Weber, Henry Phillip, Poplar Bluff
 Webster, R. W., Carthage
 Wetzel, Gus S., Clinton
 Wheeler, Albert B., Carthage
 White, B. H., Kansas City, Kansas
 Wight, Amos, Nevada
 Wilkerson, Fred B., Carthage
 Williams, Loren R., Neosho
 Wilson, James B., St. Louis
 Winchester, W. H., Charleston
 Winkeler, Theo. J., St. Louis
 Witherspoon, A. L., Wichita, Kansas
 Wolf, Mary Jane, St. Louis
 Worts, Mrs. Robert E., Kansas City
 Wright, Bailey, Kirksville
 Zimmermann, E. L., St. Louis

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY SEEKS SOLDIERS'
LETTERS AND DIARIES

The State Historical Society of Missouri is inaugurating a campaign to collect the war letters, diaries, and photographs of Missourians in the armed forces. Part of the history of the war and much of its meaning for those who fought in it are found represented in these materials. This is the record that the Society wants and urgently seeks for preservation in its permanent collections. Beyond this request via newspaper channels, the Society will be aided by the cooperation and assistance of its members.

Not all letters of any individual serviceman or woman need be given, although any would be welcome. A few random letters of life in the army or navy within the United States or abroad need not be missed from the large total number of anyone. Make copies of those which you may wish to keep, but preserve the originals from loss by donating them to the Society. Sketches of basic or boot training in camp, incidents on leave and traveling, overseas embarkation, irritations, attitudes and opinions, reactions to life overseas, battle, thoughts of home and the future, the hugely comic element, and boredom with military living appear in most letters.

The Society hopes by the acquisition of thousands of such letters to obtain the personal accounts of the lives of young Missourians during the war years and to preserve while there is yet time the precious correspondence that covers that period of their lives. Such a collection of letters and diaries will permit young Missouri in service to record its own story during the war.

In the newspapers of the State, the Society is publishing an appeal for the names and addresses of servicemen and women whose diaries, letters, or photographs will be donated and the name and address of the donor. Upon the sending of this information to the State Historical Society, the war material and personal military data will be collected and put on file.

Readers of the *Missouri Historical Review* are invited to send to the Society the names of those possible donors who will be interested in choosing this method of saving such valuable personal and historical data. Address the information to Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

THE PETTIS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The year-old Pettis county historical society met in Sedalia, September 9, for a picnic, play, and songfest. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, gave an address, "Guideposts for a Young Society."

This organization is outstanding in the State for its achievements, despite its being the next to the youngest group of its kind in Missouri. With a treasury of over \$800, it is the largest county society in the State with nearly 1000 paid members. It has established a museum, located in the county courthouse, equipped with twenty-six walnut and plate glass display cases which have been presented by churches, individuals, business concerns, clubs, schools, and railroads. In addition, the society maintained a regular Sunday night radio program during last winter, and publishes a weekly column, "Ma and Pa Pettis," in the *Sedalia Democrat* and *Capital*. Among the 1000 items in the museum are historical relics and war souvenirs. The officers include J. L. Curry, president, and Mrs. Frank S. Leach, secretary.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

The armistice celebrations of the first World war, the old subscription schools, the Missouri corncob pipe industry, and early Missouri Christmas customs are a few of the aspects of State history which are presented in the latest historical articles published as a weekly series by the State Historical Society. Written in a news feature style by the staff of the Society, they are published in the rural and metropolitan newspapers throughout the State to foster popular interest in Missouri history. The articles released during October, November, and December are the following:

October: "Pioneer Learned Three 'R's' in Old Subscription Schools," "Missouri Pipe Dreams," "Rifle Packin' Pioneer Also Packed a Lot of Equipment," "Pioneer Tastes Favored Corn at Least Three Times Daily."

November: "Unrestrained Carnival Spirit Seized Missourians in 1918 as They Celebrated the Armistice," "There Was No Match for the Early Missouri Pioneer," "Prairie Fires Kept the Early Settlers Hot and Bothered," "The Springhouse, Picturesque Carry-over from Old Times."

December: "Chief Che-quesa Delays the Settlement of Adair County," "The Sunday School Picnic of a Century Ago Was an 'Awesome and Soul Inspiring' Adventure," "The Livery Stable was the Haunt of Young Boys and the Mecca of Men," "The Stars Look Down on Christmas."

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY GAINS NEW LIFE MEMBER

Edwin T. Koch of St. Louis has joined the State Historical Society as a life member. Born in Perryville, Missouri, Mr. Koch is now living in St. Louis and is a member of the Mercantile-Commerce bank and trust company. At the suggestion of Dr. Ludwig Fuerbringer of Concordia seminary, he became a life member of the Society which he joined as a memorial to his elder brothers, Clarence and Arthur, who died in childhood. Mr. Koch is also a life member of Concordia historical institute.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boone county historical society was reorganized in Columbia by a meeting held September 27. First organized in 1924, but later disbanded, the society had a large popular following and as officers: Edwin W. Stephens, president, also elected president of the organization for life, Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, and Jesse E. Wrench, efficiency expert. Its object was to preserve and disseminate the history of Columbia and its vicinity, and during its early years the society toured the historic sites in Boone and other counties.

The present organization has as its object to accumulate a history of the county and as one purpose to have such

material added to the curriculum of the county secondary schools. The following officers were elected: E. C. Ringer, president; J. M. Taylor, vice-president; William F. English, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. J. Frank Thompson, librarian.

The Cape Girardeau historical society held a dinner meeting, November 1, at Jackson to elect new officers and to reorganize its activities. The society was originally organized in August 1926, and this meeting was a memorial for John C. Putz who had given so much time and effort toward the maintenance of the society until his death in October. Dean Vest C. Myers of the Southeast Missouri State Teachers college prepared a tribute summarizing Mr. Putz's contributions. The following officers were elected: Dean Vest C. Myers, president; Mrs. E. A. Mason, Jackson, secretary-treasurer; Willis Knox, first vice-president; C. A. Vandivort, Cape Girardeau, second vice-president.

The Clay county historical society met, October 30, in Liberty for an address by Major General Edward M. Stayton of Independence, encouraging the establishment of parks and shrines by the society. At the present time a county museum is being planned, inaugurated by a campaign to interest the entire county in its founding.

The Historical society of greater St. Louis met, October 19, to hear an address by Professor Roland G. Usher of Washington university on "Post-War Problems."

The fall meeting of the Laclede county historical society was held in Lebanon. The program consisted of a round-table discussion of Laclede county history, pioneer family records, and future plans for the society. The following officers were elected: D. O. Vernon, president; Kate Adkins, vice-president; Mrs. L. C. Mayfield, secretary; J. D. McClure, treasurer; Mrs. Charlotte Bass, curator.

The Platte county historical society met at the Weston high school, November 1. Dr. J. V. Frederick, professor of history and political science at Park college, gave an address entitled, "Ben Holiday, The Stage Coach King."

At a meeting at the home of Judge Frank B. Williams of Springfield, September 28, plans were considered to organize a Wilson's Creek historical society. Among those present at the meeting were Judge William L. Vandeventer, Dr. Louis E. Meador, and Floyd C. Shoemaker.

ANNIVERSARIES

The Camden Point Christian church in Platte county celebrated its centennial anniversary, October 28. The church, using a log building, was organized in 1843 and located northwest of the town.

The First Christian church of Carrollton celebrated its centennial anniversary the week of October 7-13. The church was organized under the leadership of the pioneer preacher, Thomas N. Gaines, who met with the first members in the log county courthouse a century ago.

The centennial anniversary celebration of the establishment of Gentry county was held, November 12, in Albany. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, gave an address, "Back in the Old Days."

The centennial celebration of the organization of Harrison county and the establishment of Bethany in March 1845 was held in the county seat, September 4 and 5. Historical displays in shop windows of old-fashioned clothing, glassware, furniture, and toys, an historical pageant, and a centennial parade were a part of the two-day program.

A pamphlet, *A Century of Progress, the First Christian Church, St. Joseph, Missouri, 1845-1945*, was published to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the founding of the church. Special services were held from September 30 to October 14.

The Hamilton avenue Christian church of St. Louis celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding during the week of October 7-14. Besides special religious services, an anniversary pageant was held, October 11, portraying a half century of church life.

The centennial anniversary of the organization in St. Louis of the St. Vincent de Paul society was held from September 28 through October 1. Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen delivered the centennial address in the cathedral September 30, and the previous day a monument had been unveiled in the Calvary cemetery honoring the founders of the society in the United States. The society, founded by Frederic Ozanam in France in 1833 for the relief of the poor, was introduced into the United States by Bryan Mullanphy, St. Louis philanthropist, and the Reverend Ambrose J. Heim, at a meeting at the old cathedral, November 20, 1845.

The centennial anniversary of the organization of Sullivan county was celebrated in Milan, September 2 and 3. The program included a parade of floats, an historical style show, and an address by Governor Phil M. Donnelly.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Members of four historical and civic groups seeking to have a national monument created on the site of old Fort Osage on the Missouri river planned for its establishment at a meeting, September 8, at Sibley. The Native Sons of Kansas City, the American pioneer trails association, the Jackson county historical society, and the Jackson county court met to hear Major General Edward M. Stayton and George S. Montgomery speak on the subject. The department of the interior has signified its intention to make a national monument of the site, built in 1808. The fort sometimes called Fort Clark, remained the westernmost stronghold of civilization until 1819. Although it was evacuated in June 1813, plans were made for restoring the garrison in 1815, and it was maintained rather intermittently until permanently abandoned in 1827.

The Des Peres school in St. Louis, where Susan E. Blow conducted the first public kindergarten in Missouri, has been leased for five years to the Susan Blow kindergarten memorial association which plans to convert the building into a memorial to her. Tentative plans of the association include rehabilitation of the building, restoration of the room in which the kindergarten was first established, and the solicitation of funds on a nationwide basis for a permanent endowment with which to maintain the property. An educational museum and space for meetings of civic and patriotic organizations would be provided.

At a district press meeting, September 7, at Cabool, Ozark editors endorsed a plan to establish a memorial forest honoring Missouri servicemen who died in World war II.

Legislation designating January 5, 1946, as George Washington Carver day was passed by the House of Representatives, November 5, and sent to the Senate. If passed, it requests the president to have the flag displayed on all federal buildings that day in tribute to the noted negro scientist.

NOTES

The Missouri historical society met in the Jefferson memorial in St. Louis, November-2, for an address by E. R. Kinsey, entitled, "Carondelet." The lecture was accompanied by colored slides made by A. S. Hinchey and Ruth Pruett.

Philip Guston, professor of the Washington university school of fine arts, was awarded the first prize of \$1000 by the Carnegie institute for his painting, "Sentimental Moment", exhibited at the institute's 1945 art show in Pittsburgh.

Dr. Robert Elman, associate professor of clinical surgery in Washington university school of medicine, received the Samuel D. Gross award for his work in the development and use of amino acids. The award, with the accompanying \$1500, was presented to him by the Philadelphia academy of surgery.

Mrs. Nell D. Norton of New London has presented the Society with a 119-page typewritten copy of her compilation of the marriage records of Ralls county, Missouri, 1821-1860. The data was taken from the file in the office of the county recorder of Ralls and is arranged into a chronological male index and alphabetical female index of those married in the county. There is in addition some miscellaneous genealogical material on Mrs. Norton's family concerning marriages, wills, and estate settlement.

Draining the southern slope of the Ozark divide in southwestern Missouri, the White river is surrounded by 6450 square miles of forest covered upland, interspersed with thousands of dairy and poultry farms. With all the charm that the names Roaring river, Lake Taneycomo, Lake Norfolk, and the Shepherd of the Hills country have for all ears, this area of the State was well chosen by the State department of resources and development to be the subject for the first recreational booklet published by that office. Well illustrated with local color photographs, the magazine snares the reader with vacation fever. Worn rail fences, log churches, and the boiling down of sorghum cane at long sweetening time, exist side by side with the modern school plant of the school of the Ozarks and well developed resort areas. *White River Country of Missouri* is accompanied by a vacation guide map, prepared by the department, offering detailed forest and stream data.

One of St. Louis' earliest apartment houses at Third street and Clark avenue where Joseph Pulitzer lived as editor of the *Westliche Post* before founding the *Post-Dispatch*, has been razed. Another historical building in the city at 400 South Jefferson, the first building built for the children's hospital, will follow. Dr. William G. Swecosky, authority on historical property in the city, has presented a photograph of the building at Third and Clark to the State Historical Society.

The Jefferson national expansion memorial association with offices in the Old Courthouse in St. Louis arranged for the following tours from that center to important points of interest in the city and the nearby areas: September 2: "German-American Church Centers," September 9: "Early Western Artists," September 16: "Building Stones," September 20: "Springfield, Illinois." The tours include an illustrated talk at the courthouse, a visit to the museum, a tour of the courthouse and old cathedral, a walk over the riverfront area, and a directed tour by bus or street car to the chosen sites.

The Springfield art museum is expanding its services to outlying districts of the Ozarks by furnishing speakers on the fine arts and encouraging local cultural and civic interest. Representatives of the various towns which will participate in the program met in Springfield, October 9, to discuss plans. The area covered at the present will include West Plains, Cabool, Mountain Grove, Mansfield, Hartville, Aurora, Monett, Branson, Forsyth, Hollister, Bolivar, Greenfield, Marshfield, and Lebanon. Other towns will be added later.

Edward R. Schauffler, feature writer for the *Kansas City Star*, has submitted for review to President Harry S. Truman a biography which he has completed on the president.

Files of the *Weingartener*, the newspaper publication of the prisoner of war camp at Weingarten, Missouri, have been presented to the Society by Major Charles J. Berry of the camp. The issues cover the first three volumes, from May 8, 1943, to August 30, 1945.

The seventh annual frontier edition of the *Missourian*, published in Boonville, was dedicated to the president, Harry S. Truman.

Walter P. Tracy of St. Louis has compiled and published a volume entitled, *St. Louis Leadership, 1944*. Although the major portion of the work is concerned with biographical data

on representative businessmen, there are brief historical sketches of the founding of the city, its government, buildings, memorials, parks, schools, and transportation facilities.

Charles D. Long of St. Louis has presented the Society with a copy of a pamphlet history, *A Sketch of John Slemmons Stevenson, 1807-1867*, by John S. McMaster and reprinted by Mr. Long. Born in Maryland, Stevenson came to Missouri in 1853 and settled in Hannibal.

The Missouri Pacific railroad has in the process of organization a museum for the display of records and data concerning railroads. To the room in the general office building which has been set aside for the display has been added several table and wall cases, besides numerous stands. The collection will be limited to items relating to railroad history, particularly Missouri Pacific history, and will be opened to the public at a later date. The material includes very early maps of St. Louis, newspaper clippings, vouchers, photographs, and other railroadiana of the State.

During this year the *Fulton, Missouri Telegraph*, has recently completed its hundredth year of publication under that same masthead. Begun in 1845 as the *Fulton Telegraph* by Duncan and Groggin, it was given its present name when John B. Williams became its editor in 1850. He edited the paper until 1857 when he moved to the *Leader* in Mexico, but returned in 1859 to the *Telegraph*, under the firm name of Williams and Turner. After numerous changes the paper was sold in 1909 to the Johnston family which has owned it continuously since that time.

At a meeting in Oklahoma City, September 8, to organize the Missouri society for the state of Oklahoma, addresses were given by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, on "Missouri and the Southwest," and by Governor Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma on "Oklahoma." The president of the society, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, formerly of Trenton, Missouri is the author of the law providing for the "Missouri day" in this state.

McCune Gill of St. Louis has presented the society with copies of his pamphlet histories of various aspects of the city. Among other titles are "St. Louis in 1821," "Camp Jackson," "Sections and Surveys," and "Survey 378."

An historical article by Clifton C. Edom concerning the University of Missouri since its founding in 1839 was published in the *Columbia Missourian*, September 21.

Mrs. Paul R. Davis of New London has presented four photographs of the Century inn, known in early Missouri history as Purdom's tavern, to the State Historical Society. They include those taken before, during, and after the building was destroyed by fire in 1944. Built in 1826, additions to the structure were made until about 1865. According to local tradition, Senator Thomas H. Benton once made a campaign speech from the upstairs porch.

The *Corder Journal* began publishing September 7 a series of historical articles which present a history of the town.

The descriptive booklet on the Missouri state capitol at Jefferson City has been reissued by the board of the permanent seat of government. It contains a description of the building, a list of the decorations, a description of the Benton murals in the lounge of the Missouri house of representatives, and a brief résumé of the principal features of the State. The State Historical Society of Missouri prepared a list of notable dates in Missouri history, 1673-1945, which is included.

The State Historical Society lent its painting, *Again*, by the Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton, to the Philbrook art center, Tulsa, Oklahoma, for an exhibition held by the art center on "Art in Religion" during October and November.

The Missouri society of Washington, D. C. chartered the steamship, *Potomac*, August 28, for an evening on the river by its members in the capital.

A special exhibition on St. Louis and the navy was presented from October 1 to November 15 by the Jefferson national expansion memorial at the Old Courthouse.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Great Plains. By Walter Prescott Webb. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin company, 1936. 525 pp.) When this volume made its appearance in the historical field, it was greeted with such cheers as being "the most critical, thoughtful, provocative book on the West that has been written in this generation," and within the period since its publication it is still considered indispensable to the study of the Great Plains region. In 1939 it was chosen as the subject for the committee on appraisal in a series of critiques of research in the social sciences, sponsored by the Social science research council. Its challenging thesis as well as its interesting style has made it popular in both the textbook and trade fields. The general hypothesis is that somewhere about the ninety-eighth meridian there occurs an "institutional fault" which halted westward migration until the industrial revolution made possible certain tools—specifically the revolver, barbed wire, windmills, farm machinery, and railroads—which permitted settlement. In addition, "every institution that was carried across it was either broken or remade or else greatly altered." While many of the facts used to prove the thesis have been questioned and some material was under or over emphasized, it is an example of the antimonographic trend in the new history.

The Midwest Pioneer, His Ills, Cures, & Doctors. By Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley. (Crawfordsville, Indiana, R. E. Banta, 1945. 339 pp.) Much of the social history of the Middle West is entwined with the problem of the health of the settlers. Any student of the period recognizes the frequent comment by travelers on the ague, fever, and chills that beset the populace. Location of settlements, rate of development, as well as the personality and progress of the inhabitants themselves were all affected by pestilence

and epidemic. When "tolerable, just tolerable," was too often the most favorable comment on the state of one's health, home treatment and patent medicines, the interim remedies between doctors' visits, were the weapons in the constant battle for survival. In addition to extensive notes, a bibliographical sketch rounds out a brief guide to the study of early western medicine.

Westward the Women. By Nancy Wilson Ross. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 199pp.) Too often the pioneer has been treated as solely masculine by the men who write the world's histories, when it is actually impossible to discuss the migratory push westward without including women's role in it. Through the ordeal of crossing through heat, flies, dirt, weariness, lack of water, rebellious cattle, sick babies, constant fear, birth, and death, run tales of courage and fortitude, despair and horror, and often cheerful feminine gaiety in the face of hardships to enliven the terrible monotony of the trek. Out of the journals and diaries of the women of the Far West emerge records of invaluable historical interest. Data on the reaction of women to a primitive environment, sidelights on the less obvious interests of the American woman, and materials on that life itself which found no place in masculine writings are indispensable to a study of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We have to be grateful for many who wrote, unconscious of their role in conquering the continent. As one grandmother said, "I have to cry now as I recall those old days. I didn't know those common every-day things would be history."

Rayburn's Roadside Chats, Arcadian Lore and Logic. By Otto Ernest Rayburn. (Beebe, Arkansas, Underhill press, 1939. 48 pp.) The pamphlet, an eulogy of the traditional life in the Ozarks that is fast disappearing, covers Missouri sections as well as the mountains in Arkansas and Oklahoma. A sentimental defense of and plea for the back-to-the-soil movement, the essays present descriptions of such amusements as hog scalds, out-of-door preaching, and play parties.

Queens Die Proudly. By William L. White. (New York, Harcourt, Brace and company, 1943. 273 pp.) While this story of a flying fortress crew in the air campaign in the southwest Pacific does not pretend to be a complete history of the area and forces involved, it does present one human angle that forms part of the overall picture. From the tragic massacre at Clark field the tale unfolds as the crew makes the heartbreaking retreat from island to island, through the fall of Java to haven in Australia. Lieutenant Cononel Frank Kurtz, the pilot, is a native of Kansas City, Missouri.

A-Raftin' on the Mississippi. By Charles Edward Russell. (New York, Century company, 1928. 357 pp.) After a boyhood on the Mississippi where the river lay as a world for adventure to be conquered by terrible river raftmen, the author was given the impetus for a history of the logging, lumber, and rafting industry of the river basin. For the civilization built up in the Midwest, wood was the essential commodity, hacked from the pine woods of Wisconsin and Minnesota and floated down the cheap everlasting highway of the rivers to the cities. Springing from such a region in the last century, developed a type of man who furnished a whole realm of folklore for American culture. From its beginning in 1832, through its zenith, and to its decline in 1890, the rafting industry offers not only exciting reading from old letters, diaries, and recollections, but also a less well known facet of national commerce.

A Saga of the Prairies. By Herbert P. Wright. (Kansas City, Mo., Brown White Lowell press, 1945. 148 pp.) Based on firsthand information from the author's father, this simply told narrative is the story of some of the earliest pioneer white settlers who journeyed to the northwestern section of Illinois, known then as the Blackhawk Indian reservation. Little local color is given, and the melodramatic aspects of the tale are emphasized.

The Man from Missouri, A Biography of Harry S. Truman. By Cyril Clemens. (Webster Groves, Missouri, International Mark Twain society, 1945. 184 pp.) The innumerable anec-

dotes concerning the president's early life, his political battles, and Washington days are here repeated at length. Based primarily on newspaper features, the biography closes with the adoption of the San Francisco charter.

OBITUARIES

OLIVER KIRBY BOVARD: Born in Jacksonville, Ill., May 27, 1872; died in St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 3, 1945. Beginning as a newspaper reporter on the St. Louis *Star* in 1896, he joined the *Post-Dispatch* in 1898 and became city editor in 1900. An outstanding American journalist, he was a member of the staff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, 1898-1938, and managing editor for thirty years before his retirement in 1938. He conducted notable news and public welfare campaigns, including the six years' investigation of the naval reserve oil scandal and the exposé of an East St. Louis federal judgeship.

GORDON CRANK: Born in Lincoln county, Mo., Sept. 27, 1876; died in Elsberry, Mo., Sept. 17, 1945. Editor and publisher of the Elsberry *Democrat* since 1924, he had been a newspaper apprentice on the Lincoln County *News*, worked on the *Rice Belt Journal* in Welsh, Louisiana, published a newspaper in Eric, Oklahoma, and began on the *Democrat* in 1900. He had been mayor of Elsberry and was acting postmaster, 1942-1945. He was well known in Masonic and other lodge circles and a member of the Missouri press association for more than thirty years.

HERBERT CARL CROW: Born in Highland, Mo., Sept. 26, 1883; died in New York, N. Y., June 8, 1945. Beginning as a printer's apprentice at sixteen, he studied at the University of Missouri and Carleton college in Minnesota. He was reporter on the Columbia *Missourian*, served on the editorial staff of the Fort Worth *Star Telegram*, 1906-1911, in 1911 became associate city editor of the Shanghai *China Press*, business manager of the Tokyo *Japan Advertiser* in 1913, Far Eastern representative of the committee of public in-

formation during World war I, edited the Shanghai *Evening Post*, and did other journalistic work in China. Among his numerous published works are *Traveler's Handbook for China, America and the Philippines, Japan and America: A Contrast, Four Million Customers, Meet the South Americans*, and *China Takes Her Place*.

HARRY S. JEWELL: Born in Kansas City, Kans., Aug. 11, 1867; died in Springfield, Mo., Aug. 25, 1945. Entering journalism as an apprentice at seventeen, he had been a Springfield newspaperman for fifty-two years, and had owned the Springfield *Leader* for fifty years. President of Springfield newspapers, inc., he was presented a citation for distinguished journalistic work in 1941 by the school of journalism of the University of Missouri. He established a \$5000 trust fund for a scholarship at the university in memory of his son, John W., a journalist.

ELLA CLARK LOOSE: Born in Carthage, Mo., April 18, 1860; died in Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 26, 1945. Married in 1878 to Jacob Leander Loose, chairman of the Loose-Wiles biscuit company, she became a famous Washington hostess after his death in 1923. Widely known for her philanthropy, she established the Loose memorial park in Kansas City, and presented miscellaneous gifts to various charities, particularly those for child aid. After her death the Loose million-dollar charity fund begins functioning.

ROY H. MONIER: Born at Hopkins, Mo., Jan. 12, 1881; died in Carrollton, Mo., Nov. 5, 1945. An insurance and real estate dealer, he had always been active in politics. He was a delegate to the Republican national convention in 1920, state vice-chairman the same year, chairman of the state tax commission, 1921-1925, state grain and warehouse commissioner, 1925-1929, and president of the board of managers of the state eleemosynary institutions, 1929-1933.

EARL F. NELSON: Born in Milan, Mo., Jan. 2, 1884; died in St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 23, 1945. A member of the board of curators of the University of Missouri, 1937-1943, he graduated from the law school and arts and science college. He was prosecuting attorney of Sullivan county, 1906-1908, deputy superintendent of the state insurance department, and lawyer in St. Louis after 1916. Founder of the school of law foundation of Missouri university in 1928, he was one of the principal financial contributors and officers. He established the Henry F. Schulte and Gwinn Henry awards in 1936 and in 1937 gave \$1000 for the benefit of St. Louis alumni.

CLEVELAND ALEXANDER NEWTON: Born in Wright county, Mo., Sept. 3, 1873; died in Washington, D. C., Sept. 17, 1945. He attended Drury college and graduated from the law department of Missouri university in 1902. He was elected state representative in 1902 and served until his resignation in 1905 to become assistant United States attorney for the western district of Missouri. He resigned from that office in 1907 and served as assistant circuit attorney in St. Louis until his resignation in 1911 to become special assistant to the attorney-general of the United States. He resigned from that office in 1912 to return to law practice in St. Louis. He was elected to Congress on the Republican ticket in 1918 and served until 1927, resuming law practice in Washington and St. Louis in that year.

ALFRED PAGE: Born in Covington, Tenn., Jan. 1, 1869; died in Springfield, Mo., Aug. 29, 1945. After graduating from Drury college in 1897, he taught school, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1901. He was elected judge of the old Greene county criminal court in 1908 and was named the first judge of that division when the division No. 2 of the circuit court was substituted. He was appointed assistant federal attorney general in 1929, city attorney of Springfield during the second World war, and assistant county attorney in 1945.

JOHN G. PUTZ: Born near Pocahontas, Mo., April 29, 1870; died in Cape Girardeau, Mo., Oct. 9, 1945. Elected county treasurer in 1904, he served eight years in that capacity, twelve years as deputy county recorder, and justice of the peace for twenty-five years. He served as secretary of the annual Jackson celebration from 1908 to 1919. He was instrumental in the organization of the Cape Girardeau county historical society, was secretary for many years, and president at the time of his death. He was widely known for his interest in and knowledge of the history of the county.

CORNELIUS HITE SKINKER: Born in Stafford county, Va., Sept. 20, 1863; died in Bolivar, Mo., Oct. 23, 1945. Judge of Missouri's eighteenth judicial circuit for thirty-one years, he was educated in Virginia and at the University of Missouri. After practicing law in Bolivar, he was appointed circuit judge in 1909, elected in 1910, re-elected thereafter and served until 1940, earning a wide reputation for impartiality.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

CELEBRATING THE YULETIDE WITH A BANG!

From the *Boonville Weekly Eagle*, December 19, 1868.

As the holidays approach our people begin to warm into life. The coming week will be one of rare gayety. We are to have a festival on Tuesday night, a fashionable wedding on Wednesday night, and the grand ball on Thursday night. And then, if nothing happens to the railway, Christmas will be here early Friday morning, and will remain through the day. We are not so certain of that, however, as the Mayor has issued his proclamation forbidding the shooting of any fire arms and the burning of fire-crackers, and Christmas won't be Christmas without the burning of powder any more than the fourth of July will be the fourth of July. The Mayor is invading the long established rights of Young America, and we advise them to hold an indignation meeting and "pass the necessary resolutions." Why, it is one of the inalienable rights of Young America, for which their "forefathers fought, bled and died," on Christmas and fourth of July, to burn their fire-crackers, frighten horses, put out people's eyes, destroy dwellings, and make themselves generally obnoxious, and we are surprised that the Mayor forbids these *harmless* little pleasantries.

PRISONERS OF WAR IN 1861

From the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, December 25, 1861.

Price's advance guard.—The main portion of the prisoners captured by Gen. Pope reached here about 11 o'clock Monday night, on the Pacific train. The train consisted of thirty-six cars, and the prisoners were packed into each car so closely as to leave but little more than comfortable standing room.... General Halleck was on hand [to welcome them]....

Early yesterday morning people began to flock to the depot to witness the debarkation of the prisoners. It was impossible to get very near the cars, as lines of the soldiers had been thrown out all around, and so the spectators contented themselves with viewing the train from a distance, and taking occasional birds-eye views of the countenances of the prisoners through the grated openings of the freight cars.... About half past eight or nine a battalion of the Second Iowa Regiment marched up Seventh street to the depot, and moved the crowd aside.... The regimental brass band was stationed at the head of the passage, and as the prisoners began to leave the cars, struck up the lively air,

"Ever of thee, I'm fondly dreaming."

As the last notes of this "airy" piece of music died away, the first carload of prisoners moved swiftly and shiveringly along between the lines and came to a halt and huddled together at the head of the passage near the band. . . . Meantime the band played various lively strains—"The Star Spangled Banner," "Yankee Doodle," and so on, and a splendid silk flag, midway along the lines, proudly fluttered in the breeze. . . .

And here a few words in reference to the appearance of the prisoners, may not be inappropriate. A body of men ununiformed, however intelligent and refined they may be, invariably present an appearance not particularly pleasing to the gaze. In this instance, the prisoners appeared clothed in the most miscellaneous and nondescript manner imaginable—some with white bed quilts for blankets, others with striped blankets, others with no blankets, and nothing but threadbare, rusty ragged, snuff colored, and slouchy coats, others with well worn United States army overcoats—captured at Lexington—and all with the most shocking bad hats and caps, and other head gear, of inconceivable variety. No body of men with such miscellaneous outfits could present any other than a wretched appearance. Here and there a frank, open, manly and intelligent countenance would reveal itself, despite the rough exterior; and, again, great numbers of boys not over sixteen or seventeen years of age, developed by their looks that they were but tools in the hands of designing men, and that it was a matter of indifference to them whether "school kept or not," but a large number gave unmistakable evidence of being possessed of the most evil passions which disgrace humanity.

The line of march for McDowell's College, where the prisoners were to be quartered, was taken up about half-past nine o'clock and as the prisoners moved down Seventh street, between the lines of the Twenty-fifth Indiana, with the Second Iowa in advance, the crowd broke and followed in close pursuit, and gave occasional cheers . . . As the prisoners entered the College, the Iowa Brass Band, attached to the Second Regiment, gave them, in fine style, a second dose of exquisite strains from patriotic airs . . . It will probably be some time before they graduate.

GOLD IN THEM THAR' HILLS

From the St. Louis *Enquirer*, reprinted in the Franklin, *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 17, 1822.

The fur trade.—Since the abolition of the United States' factories, a great activity has prevailed in the operation of this trade. Those formerly engaged in it have increased their capital and extended their enterprise; firms have engaged in it, and others are preparing to do so. It is computed that a thousand men, chiefly from this place [St. Louis], are now employed in this trade on the waters of the Missouri and half that number on the Upper Mississippi. The Missouri Fur Company, which alone employs upwards of 300 men, have reached the mountains, and will soon be on the Columbia river. Others have the same destination, so that the rich furs of

that region will soon cease to be the exclusive property of the Hudson Bay Company. Besides Furs, the Rocky Mountains may produce something else to reward the enterprise of those who penetrate their recesses. They are a continuation of the Andes, which stretch through South America & Mexico, and abound wherever they have been searched, with various minerals, precious stones and gold and silver. The Rocky Mountains were called the *Shining Mountains* by all early travelers, from their glittering appearance in the sun, occasioned by the peculiar brilliancy of the many stones which are found upon them. A hunter pursuing his game found the silver mines of Potosi, and many other have been discovered by the like accidents, and there is no reason to suppose that other valuable discoveries may not be made.

THE OLD SPINNING WHEEL IN THE CORNER

From the Bethany, *Harrison County Times*, September 6, 1945.

The slight little lady beside the huge old spinning wheel, displayed in the assembly room at the court house during the centennial, deftly placed a paper around the spindle at the top of the projection opposite the wheel and connected by a cord to the wheel in such a manner that it whirled as the wheel went around. She folded in with the paper the end of a short, fluffy bit of wool carded into the beginning of yarn string. With an experienced left hand she grasped the bit of fluff, which resembles the appearance of the angel's hair decoration for Christmas trees, if twisted into a rope. Her right hand gave the wheel a quick spin, and her left held the ever-lengthening string at arm's length. The loose mass of wool was now twisted into a uniform string of yarn. She held her hand (holding the wool) high above her head to the right and gave the wheel another turn, which wound the yarn around the spindle.

Mrs. Nan (Blessing) Riley, 78, who lives about a mile and a half north of Mt. Moriah, has been spinning since she was about 12 years of age. . . . The wheel which Mrs. Riley uses belonged to her mother and is over 100 years old. It was brought here about 1835, when Mrms. James Barger migrated from Kentucky. The monkey loom on which she has woven blankets, carpets and material for "jeans" also came in with the wheel. It is made of walnut. The spinning wheel is so old that it does not even have a groove on the outside rim of the wheel to hold the cord in place, and some times, Mrs. Riley said, if you go too fast the belt jumps off. . . .

Carding is also almost a forgotten art. The tools required for the process look much like the top of a pound cheese box, with small wires about one-fourth inch long, set in the board to make wire brushes. A bit of wool which has been sheared, washed thoroughly with soft soap, dried and picked (pulled apart) is placed on one of these boards, each provided with a handle. The wool is brushed back and forth with another board until the hairs run straight in the wires. Then, with a heavier motion, the wires of the top board are dug deep to the base of the Board below, bringing with it the roll

of wool. A quick motion with the back of the board produces a roll, much resembling in shape a piece of molding clay rolled beneath the palms. There is just enough twist to this coil that it can be spun without breaking.

Mrs. Riley not only cards, spins, weaves and knits wool, but also uses it to line comforts. The old-fashioned way of doing this was to use one thickness of the wool left flat after carding. But this often became separated and left holes. Therefore, Mrs. Riley uses three layers, turning the middle layer in the opposite direction of the outer two. She never washes wool linings, but just quilts them in unbleached muslin and tacks them in, to be removed when washed. She has also raised cotton on her farm near New Hampton and carded it for use in quilt linings.

THE 'SIX-MILE STRIP'

From the *Kansas City Star*, September 3, 1945.

Hamilton, Mo., Sept. 2—Young students of the local history of Caldwell County often wonder why Daviess County to the north and Ray County to the south are both square but Caldwell is oblong. The answer lies in the story of the "Six-Mile Strip," which in turn involves the story of the Mormon occupation of Caldwell County, 1835-1838.

As a matter of fact, it was originally planned that Caldwell County should be a square area when the legislature decided to form two new counties from old Ray County in 1836. Caldwell County was designated as the "Mormon county" for the Latter Day Saints, while Daviess County was to be left to non-Mormons.

But settlers in the south part of the proposed new Caldwell County began to resent being placed in the "Mormon county" by law. Those in the six miles of township 54 became so obstreperous about the matter that the legislature finally left them in old Ray County, thus deducting a strip six miles wide from the new Caldwell County.

However, that was not the end of the dispute over the Six-mile Strip. At the close of the Civil War an attempt was made by Caldwell County to regain it as an aftermath of the sectional feeling of the partisans of the North and South. Ray County had been intensely pro-Confederate and Caldwell County Union. The strong Union party in Caldwell proposed to take the Six-mile Strip away from Ray County and give it back to Caldwell as a punishment for the Confederate activities in Ray County during the War. But the project ended in talk.

Toward the end of the 60s, Caldwell County politicians living in Hamilton again tried to square the county. This plan was not against the territory of Ray County but that of Daviess County to the north. The core of this new project was to take the southern tier of townships from Daviess County on the north and add it to Caldwell County, while Daviess County would in turn take the south tier of townships from the county north or it.

There was more to this than the mere securing of a square form for Caldwell County. It really was a plot on the part of Hamilton planners

to "steal the county seat" from Kingston. Hamilton long had craved the honor but could not meet the objection that it did not lie in the middle of the county, as did Kingston. There this clever plan of squaring Caldwell County in form was sponsored, which would give Hamilton a site fairly near the center of the county.

Kingston naturally fought for her life as a county seat and sided with the counties that would be affected by the changes in boundary lines, if the legislature yielded to the petition signed by Hamilton businessmen. The project, however, did not get legislative support.

A LECTURE ON TEMPERANCE!

From the *Hannibal Journal*, January 27, 1853.

Last Sunday morning, between three and four o'clock, the calaboose, in this city, was discovered to be on fire, and soon burned to the ground. It was a brick building, but the wood work was dry, burned rapidly, and had made some progress before it was seen by any person outside. But it was seen inside, and the cries of its single occupant were not to be mistaken for any but those of distress, when attention had once been aroused. This man was an insane Irishman—made insane by liquor—who had been incarcerated about midnight for breaking down the door of a negro cabin with an ax, and chasing out the inmates. It is supposed he set his bed clothes on fire with matches, as he usually carried them in his pocket to light his pipe, and the fire, when first seen from without, was in the corner occupied by his bed. Attempts were made to obtain the keys, and also to break down the doors, both of which proved unavailing.—The Marshal, who has charge of the keys, slept four or five squares distant, and though the keys were always kept in one place in the Recorder's office, known to one or two others, in the hurry and confusion, they were overlooked in the search. Before they were obtained, the fire had progressed so rapidly as already to have destroyed the man's life. Every effort was made to rescue him. To those outside endeavoring to force an entrance, he seemed to be leaning against the door shrieking and moaning, until, stifled by the smoke and the heated air, he fell to the floor.

Before he was deprived of his intellect, he said his name was Dennis McDermid, and that he had a mother and brother living in Madison, Indiana. He worked about eight months for Elder John M. Johnson, near this city, and proved himself a very good-hearted, clever, honest man, securing the kind regard of the family. He left Mr. Johnson's house last May, went to work on the plank road, indulged in drinking too freely, and lost his senses. For several months past, he seems to have had on him a kind of perpetual delirium tremens.

A few pieces of burnt flesh and bones were gathered from the ruins, deposited in a box, and interred in the city burying ground. Thus, living and dying alone and friendless, he suffered in life, met a tragic death, and at last sleeps in a grave that no man honors.

DISCHARGE THE CORPORAL OF THE GUARD!

From the Franklin, *Missouri Intelligencer*, September 24, 1822.

We lament to notice the death of Capt. John Thompson, who was shot by a sentinel at the encamping ground in Richmond, on Wednesday night last. The circumstances, as we understand, were as follows: Several persons were at a short distance from the line of sentinels actively employed in making much noise and tumult. Capt. Thompson was the officer of the night, and was ordered to take a detachment of men and bring these disorderly persons into camp. He started for this purpose, and in passing the guard advanced, as he was ordered, to give the countersign. When he came to the guard, the sentinel, instead of presenting his gun at his breast, passed it by his hip—Capt. T. then instructed him in his duty by having the gun placed against his breast; and while in this situation it accidentally discharged its contents into his breast; and altho it was loaded with only powder and wadding, he survived but a short time.

. . . . Capt. Thompson commanded the independent company of Riflemen attached to the 10th regiment 1st battalion Missouri militia.

That such accidents may be in future avoided, we think it might not be unworthy of consideration by the commanding officers, whether it would not be as well to have no man stand as sentinel with his gun loaded. Would it not be better that even no sentinels should be posted, than that one man should lose his life. . . . ?

EXODUS TO THE PROMISED LAND

From the Paris *Mercury*, March 25, 1879.

Several days ago the steamer *Grand Tower*, from the South, landed at St. Louis, having on board about 500 negroes on their way to Kansas. They had come from many points along the river, but chiefly from around Vicksburg. The most of them were in a destitute condition, and presented a picture of misery as they stood shivering in the cold and snow. It seems that agents have been at work in the South inducing them to leave their homes and seek an El Dorado in Kansas. Reports have been spread among them that the Government has set apart Kansas as a negro State and will give land, houses and \$500 in money to every family who will go thither.—Also that President Hayes has turned Democrat and has ordered all the negroes who remain to be killed.—Some claim that these reports were spread at the instigation of the railroad and steamboat lines. Let this be as it may, the cities of St. Louis and Kansas City are flooded with negro paupers. They held a mass meeting in St. Louis, one night last week, making inflammatory and communistic speeches, and wound up by voting that a copy of their bitter resolutions be sent to the President.

The mayor of the city of St. Louis has issued a proclamation stating the miserable condition of those who have arrived and warning others not to come. We learn that the city authorities of St. Louis have shipped 200 of

them to Kansas City, paying their passage. The papers of the latter city are complaining of this, and suggest that, upon their arrival, they be re-shipped to St. Louis. We cannot as yet see where this will end, but it will evidently lead to much suffering to the negro. The law that, "emigration follows its own latitude," cannot be broken with impunity. The negro, accustomed to the mild climate of the South, will die like sheep upon the bleak prairies of Kansas in the coming winter. We must believe that the Republican party is at the bottom of the whole business, making political capital for the next canvass. Some of the Republican papers say that the white people of the South have driven them out; others state that bands of whites threatened them with death in case they attempted to leave. Surely consistency is not found in the Republican party.

WHEN AN EARLIER MISSOURI WAS NEWS

From the Muskogee, Oklahoma, *Daily Phoenix*, August 31, 1945.

Accounts of the battleship *Missouri* which is much in the news today, bring to mind another *Missouri* of a century ago, also of the United States navy. Combining sail and steam propulsion, she was listed as a steam frigate. Sailing from New York for Alexandria, she anchored in the bay of Gibraltar for two or three days to replenish her coal supply. On the evening of Aug. 23, 1843, a fire broke out in the ship.

According to the account of an officer the alarm was given a few minutes before 8 o'clock in the evening, and was followed by such a burst of flame as led to the belief that oil or spirits was the cause. Immediately on the alarm, the drum sounded, men repaired to their quarters, and every effort was made to extinguish the flames. But in spite of their efforts the ship continued to burn throughout the night, presenting one of the grandest spectacles, occasionally relieved by the explosion of heavy shells and the scattering of fragments. About 2 o'clock some of the tanks of the forward magazine blew up with a terrible concussion, breaking many windows and creating other damage in the town.

The line wall was crowded until a very late hour with spectators anxiously watching the fate of the noble ship. The sight was awfully grand, said the officer; until the masts at length fell overboard, the tracery of her spars and shrouds standing out in bright relief against the dark sky was beautiful. The whole rock was light as day; and probably such a sight has not been witnessed in the bay since the conflagration of the floating batteries in the memorable siege.

Though the crew fought gallantly, aided by the crew of the British ship *Malabar*, anchored near, their efforts were futile, and by morning the fine vessel was burned to the water line and left a blackened wreck aground in the bay.

One of the passengers on the *Missouri* was the celebrated statesman, Caleb Cushing, American minister to China, on the way to assume the duties of his office, a post in which Muskogee's own Patrick J. Hurley is now

engaged in duties so important to world peace. Mr. Cushing made a report of the burning to the secretary of state, and much other correspondence resulted from the grateful acknowledgment of our government to General R. Wilson, governor of Gibraltar, and Sir George Sartorius, master of the *Malabar*, for help in fighting the flames.

The tragedy and the resulting friendly exchanges with the British authorities made a deep impression on the people of the United States, and President Tyler in his third annual message of December, 1883, devoted part of it to a recital of the tragedy and an acknowledgment of the obligations of the United States to the British at Gibraltar, the commander, officers and crew of the *Malabar*, for their aid—GRANT FOREMAN.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

American Mercury, November: "The Log Cabin Myth," by Stewart H. Holbrook.

Arkansas Historical Quarterly, summer: "Indian Guests at the Spanish Arkansas Post," by Stanley Faye.

Business Week, September 8: "[*St. Louis Daily News*] Union Weapon: New Newspaper Published by Labor Committee."

California Historical Society Quarterly, June: "California Emigrant Letters," by Walker D. Wyman.

Colliers, August 18: "Independence Makes a President," by George Creel.

Kansas Historical Quarterly, August: "Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828," edited by John Francis McDermott.

Life, August 6: "Truman's First Hundred Days."

Saturday Evening Post, August 25: "Kansas City," by George S. Perry.

School and Society, September 1: "School Days of Harry S. Truman: Typical American," by Cyril Clemens.

State Government, October: "Soil Conservation Among the Forty-Eight States," by H. H. Bennett.

